AN ACT OF FAITH

The Early Years of Regina College

James M. Pitsula

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Regina College, opened by the Methodist church in 1911 to offer academic, music and business training to the young people of Saskatchewan, played a vital role in the educational and cultural life of the province during its formative years. The church placed its stamp on the college and on the students who passed through it. Regina College stood for academic excellence, well-rounded character development, and the ideal of social service.

James M. Pitsula studies the history of the college from its founding, through its golden years under the leadership of E.W. Stapleford, and its vicissitudes in the 1930s, when the church finally agreed to the takeover of the college by the University of Saskatchewan. The book is more than an institutional history, however, and the author takes the opportunity to look at the experiences of students, faculty, and others whose lives were touched by the college during a period of great social change. Pitsula also contributes to the historiography of Canadian higher education, which is leading to a better understanding of the development of Canadian society. According to Pitsula, "Uncovering the history of Regina College may also be relevant to contemporary debates about educational policy. The role of the school in society, the purposes of education, the essentials of the curriculum, and other perennial issues were addressed by the administrators and teachers of Regina College. Their coherent and often wise answers to such questions are worthy of serious consideration, particularly now, when such a high degree of uncertainty seems to surround policy making in the field of education." *Illustrated.*

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Ernest William Stapleford, by Arthur Lismer

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Canadian Plains Research Center
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To my father

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Many people who attended Regina College during the 1930s, the 1920s, and even earlier, invited me into their homes and talked about college days. Over a cup of tea, I heard stories and gained insights not found in the written sources. I have tried as much as possible in the text to allow these former students to speak in their own voices about what the Regina College experience meant to them. They seemed to enjoy reminiscing, and I hope they take pleasure in this book.

The production of this book would not have been possible without substantial grants from the Jackman Foundation, the University of Regina, and Elsie Stapleford. Gillian Wadsworth Minifie and Brian Mlazgar of the Canadian Plains Research Center provided good advice in bringing the manuscript forward to publication. Any errors or omissions are, of course, my responsibility. I would like to thank my friends Doug, Jan, and Julie Folk for their support while this book was being written. Fran Pitsula, Patricia Pitsula and Elsie Picton gave valuable encouragement. Finally, I thank my father, to whom the book is dedicated.

INTRODUCTION

A visitor to the main campus of the University of Regina might easily assume that in the 1960s or 1970s the university sprang up full-blown on the empty prairie to the southeast of the city. In actual fact, the university has deep roots extending back to 1911, when the Methodist church opened Regina College to offer academic, music, and business training for the young people of the province. The college adopted the motto "As One Who Serves," which is still the motto of the University of Regina, and has served the educational needs of Regina and rural Saskatchewan for more than seventy-five years. As conditions have changed, the nature of service to the community has changed. In the early days, when the province was one step removed from the pioneer era, the college gave a high school education to young people from rural districts where there were no secondary schools. As educational facilities in outlying areas improved, the focus shifted to university work. Affiliation in 1925 with the Saskatoon-based University of Saskatchewan gave a new lease on life by allowing the college to teach the first two years of the four-year Bachelor of Arts degree, but the University strongly opposed expansion to the third and fourth years. Disaster then struck in the form of the Great Depression of the 1930s that brought reduced enrolments, mounting debts, and financial crisis. The college stumbled along, barely surviving, until 1934 when the church acquiesced to a takeover bid from the University of Saskatchewan. The college was rescued from bankruptcy, but at a price. The university refused in principle until 1959 to allow a full degree program in Regina. Expansion of the Regina campus proceeded rapidly thereafter, and the developments set in motion by the establishment of a college in 1911 culminated with the creation of the University of Regina in 1974.

Such, in capsule form, is the history of Regina College. This study carries the story from the founding in 1911 to the outbreak of World War II in 1939. The time span constitutes a discrete unit in the life of the college, the period of Methodist and United Church control and the aftermath of the takeover by the University of Saskatchewan. After the change in ownership and administration in 1934, the college became a noticeably different institution.

A history of the first phase of Regina College has interest for a number of reasons. Educational history has shared in recent years in the general flowering of Canadian social history. Recent studies of Queen's University, Mount Allison University, and the University of Saskatchewan have drawn

praise for breaking out of the mould of uncritical institutional histories. The historiography of Canadian higher education is beginning to contribute usefully to a better understanding of the development of Canadian society. This book will possibly be part of that contribution. Uncovering the history of Regina College may also be relevant to contemporary debates about educational policy. The role of the school in society, the purposes of education, the essentials of the curriculum, and other perennial issues were addressed by the administrators and teachers of Regina College. Their coherent and often wise answers to such questions are worthy of serious consideration, particularly now, when such a high degree of uncertainty seems to surround policy making in the field of education.

This study also sheds light on the role of the Methodist church in the shaping of prairie society. The church placed its stamp on the college and on the students who passed through it. Regina College stood for academic excellence, well-rounded character development, and the ideal of social service. The contribution to the cultural life of Regina and southern Saskatchewan, though unquantifiable, has been immense. Certainly, the University of Regina, whether fully conscious of the fact or not, is indebted to the work and commitment of the teachers, students, and friends of the antecedent church college.

The first chapter examines the establishment of the college in the context of existing social and economic conditions. The booster mentality of businessmen who were riding the wave of the booming western economy, combined with a sense of rage that Regina had been rejected in favour of Saskatoon as the site of the provincial university, generated support for the Methodist educational project. Among the core members of the first board of governors were hard-driving entrepreneurs and self-made millionaires, often without a university education themselves, and community-minded professional men, who gave their loyalty to the college from 1911 right up to the time the university assumed responsibility. Prominent citizens accepted positions on the board, dug deep into their own bank accounts, and went about the onerous tasks of raising money, purchasing land, planning buildings, appointing a president and faculty, and deciding upon a curriculum.

Chapter two analyses the first major crisis to rock the college. The recession of 1913 and the outbreak of World War I in 1914 unsettled the economy and brought an acute financial crisis. At the same time, the board of governors, becoming disillusioned with its first choice as president, forced him to resign. Although solid progress had been made in diversifying the course offerings and completing the main college building, the situation by 1915 was grim, bordering on irremediable. The next chapter focuses on President E.W. Stapleford, who came to the rescue in that year and

put the college firmly on its feet. The key to his amazingly successful presidency was his ability to motivate, to inspire, and to make others see his vision of what Regina College could be. The bottom line was money, which Stapleford had the knack for finding. As one of his staff members said, "Stapleford could pluck a goose without it squawking." He raised hundreds of thousands of dollars and oversaw the completion of the girls' residence, the gymnasium, the central heating plant, and the F.N. Darke Music and Art Building.

Under Stapleford, Regina College flourished. Chapter four evaluates the contribution made by the Conservatory of Music to the cultural life of the city and province. Outstanding musicians and gifted teachers made the conservatory a centre of excellence. Hundreds of students from all parts of the province received their training and then returned to their home communities where they taught music, led church choirs, organised music festivals, and in other ways extended the conservatory's influence. There was no question but that in the field of music Regina College led the province and ranked high in western Canada.

Chapters five and six look closely at the educational goals of the college and how the students responded. All college programs, whether they were academic, social, athletic, or spiritual, centred on one aim—the building up of Christian citizenship. Since a large majority of the students lived in the residences, the college could be a total community supervising all aspects of the students' lives. The faculty were not simply teaching algebra or French; they were teaching, by word and by example, good manners and ethical conduct. This total approach to education—dealing not just with the mind or the body or social relations, but with the full potential of the whole person—made Regina College a good school. Christian faith and ideals tied everything together and gave meaning to what the college was offering. Most of the students came from farms and were glad of the opportunity to further their education. Their parents in many cases were making sacrifices to pay for tuition and board and room, while the students themselves often worked in the summer or at part-time jobs. Something so hard to come by was not casually thrown away. Although students griped and complained about the rules and the restrictions on their freedom, they fundamentally accepted the discipline and responded positively to the norms and values of the older generation.

The last part of the book deals with the abortive attempt by Regina College in the late 1920s and early 1930s to develop into a university. The expansion was blocked by President Walter Murray of the University of Saskatchewan, who believed as an article of faith that the province could support only one university. The historical literature that has thus far appeared has presented Murray in a favourable light. He was undoubtedly

the outstanding president in the history of the university, but from the Regina College point of view, his influence was far from salutary. Through skilful political manoeuvring, he defeated Stapleford's plan to attract more students by offering a complete degree course in Regina. As a result of the hopeless financial situation caused by the low enrolments and the economic depression, the college lost its autonomy in 1934. The final chapter deals with the consequences of the shift from church to university control. New faculty were employed, a school of art was established, but in other ways the university did not give the commitment hoped for by friends of Regina College. The University of Saskatchewan provided financial security, but postponed for a generation the evolution of the college into a degree-granting institution.

Regina College played a vital role in the educational and cultural life of Saskatchewan during its formative years. The experiences of the students, teachers, and other people whose lives were touched by the college form a significant part of the social history of the west. Reflecting on these experiences enlarges our understanding both of the past and the present. Many of our current educational dilemmas appeared in one form or other in the life of Regina College from 1911 to 1939. Much has changed, but much refuses to go away. Thus the history of the college, worth studying for its own sake, may also illuminate some of our present concerns.

ONE

THE FOUNDING OF REGINA COLLEGE

"That there should be one man ignorant who had a capacity for knowledge, that I call a tragedy."

On a bright, cool October day in 1911 some of the wealthiest and most civic-minded men in Regina gathered to mark the inauguration of a Methodist college. Since many of them had contributed their time and energy, not to mention thousands of dollars, to the project, they were pleased to see that no effort had been spared to make the cornerstone laying ceremonies as imposing as possible. Regina, after all, was a bustling, progressive city of thirty thousand (twenty-eight thousand of whom had arrived in the past ten years), deserving of all the amenities of a major urban centre, including an institution of higher learning. Residents of the city were still smarting from the decision in 1909 to give the provincial university to Saskatoon, the population of which was only twelve thousand. The building of the college was some consolation for Regina, and, at the same time, a cause of anxiety for Saskatoon. Perhaps that accounted for the presence among the dignitaries of Walter C. Murray, the new president of the University of Saskatchewan, whose strongly held conviction that the province should have only one university was well known.

A few minutes past 2:00 p.m. on 25 October 1911, the proceedings opened with the singing of the dedicatory hymn. The Reverend Oliver Darwin, Methodist superintendent of missions, read from the eighth and ninth chapters of Proverbs: "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars.... The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom and the knowledge of the holy is understanding." A Bible, various documents connected with the establishment of the college, and a selection of postage stamps and coins of the reigns of Queen Victoria and King Edward VII, were placed inside the cornerstone. The trowel was then presented to His Honour, Lieutenant Governor George W. Brown:

> *Slowly and ponderously the stone was lifted and swung into the waiting bed of mortar which had been carefully spread by the hand of the Lieutenant Governor. A moment sufficed for the test, and then, with heads bared, the watching throng were given the assurance: 'In the name of Christ and for the service of man I declare this stone to be well and truly laid as the chief stone in a building dedicated to the training of young people*

to intellectual mastery and in the principles of Christian citizenship."[1]

The outdoor ceremony now completed, the large crowd adjourned to the relative warmth of Central Collegiate auditorium. The first speaker of the afternoon was W.W. Andrews, who had been chosen the first president of the college. A chemist by training, Andrews tried his hand at poetry to honour the occasion:

Lord God of Truth, before whose face
The splendours of the sun are dim,
The glories of whose mind enthrall
Enraptured seer and seraphim,
Be Thou our Guide, as scholars here,
We seek for light, we seek for light.

Lieutenant Governor Brown, one of the driving forces behind the college and a principal financial backer, delivered the major speech. After praising the fine work being done in the public school system, he took as his theme the unique value of a private, residential school, where splendid teachers could be brought together in almost family association with boys and girls. Young people who were unable to attend university would be able to acquire at Regina College "such a training as will add to our home life and which will carry to the prairies of our Province that love of a beautiful home and surroundings which has been engendered and inspired during their residence at school."

Next at the podium was Walter Scott, premier of the province since 1905. His was the most politically sensitive speech of the day because he had to congratulate the Reginans for the "splendid progress shown in the work they had undertaken," without upsetting the people of Saskatoon, who were worrying about a threat to the university. Scott had, in fact, privately opposed Regina College, until receiving the assurance that it would not compete with, but rather act as a feeder to, the university.[2] Now he mingled congratulations for the college with praise for the university, going out of his way to quote the observation of a recent visitor, "that the most significant thing he had found in the country was the University of Saskatchewan." Walter Murray, who spoke after Scott, must have been pleased by the premier's comments. The president of the university added his own good wishes and congratulations to the promoters of Regina College, who had placed "the welfare of their country before their love of money," and he admired the architectural beauty of the planned college building. As to the relationship between the college and the university:

the forces of education in this new land were as yet all too few,
and the task too great to waste useful time in idle controversy.

Each had its work to do, and he was sure that the two would go hand in hand in the upbuilding of the youthful mind of the province.

Murray's words should be contrasted with his actions behind the scenes. He had already intervened successfully to make sure Regina College would not receive any government funding and had written confidentially to the president of the University of Toronto, "Why then should we fear though the Methodists rage and Regina imagines vain things?"[3]

Mayor Peter McAra brought greetings from the city of Regina and expressed himself "glad that the state had not entirely usurped the function of education." The chairman then introduced the Reverend S.D. Chown, general superintendent of the Methodist church of Canada. He talked about the high level of activity and substantial expenditures of the Methodist church in the West and about the relationship between church and state. To the government belonged sovereign power, but the church had to keep morality at such a pitch that the lawmakers would have to make the right choices. He emphasized the non-denominational character of the college. There would be no discrimination in the admission of students or the hiring of staff. The final scheduled speaker was J.A. Calder, provincial minister of education. Since the ground had already been covered so well, Calder commented that he had little new to say and simply endorsed what had already been said. By this time the audience must have been weary of speeches and ready to go home, when somebody spotted Principal G.E. Lloyd of the Anglican Emmanuel College in Saskatoon. Invited to the platform, he added his best wishes to the chorus of congratulations. The ceremonies were over; Regina College had been well and truly launched.

The establishment of a college was in keeping with Methodist tradition. At the first conference of the church held on this side of the Atlantic in 1785 a vote was taken to found a college at Abingdon, Maryland. By the time of the American Civil War, the church boasted two hundred colleges in thirty-three of the thirty-four states.[4] That Canadian Methodists were equally interested in education was evident from their support, by 1921, of eleven secondary schools and colleges.[5] On the western prairies, Wesley College, Winnipeg, opened in 1888, offering high school, undergraduate, and theological courses.[6] Alberta College, which began in Edmonton in 1903, taught the first two years of an Arts degree, as well as theology, music, elocution, and commerce. The Province of Alberta gained its second Methodist college in 1911 with the establishment of Mount Royal in Calgary.

The high profile of the Methodist church in the west was understandable in view of the rapid settlement and dynamic growth of the region in the

early years of the twentieth century. Beginning in about 1896, the year of the election of Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier, economic conditions favoured "the Last Best West." Hundreds of thousands of homesteaders arrived, railroads were built, towns and cities sprang up, and general prosperity prevailed. About half the prairie population before World War I originated in either the United States, Great Britain, or continental Europe. Most of the other newcomers came from Ontario and the rest of Canada. While Methodists predominated among the former Ontarians, the Roman Catholic church gained heavily from the continental European and American immigration, and the Presbyterian and Anglican denominations benefited from the British immigration. Thus, the Methodist church, the largest Protestant denomination in Canada as a whole, was not able to hold its lead in the west. The 1911 census in Saskatchewan showed the Methodists in third place (78,325) behind the Presbyterians (96,564) and the Roman Catholics (90,092), and just ahead of the Anglicans (75,342).[7] Unless the Methodists stepped lively and showed a commitment to the west, they ran the risk of falling even further behind.

The thousands of continental Europeans flooding into the country filled many Canadians with alarm. Icelanders, Scandinavians, and northern Germans were respected for their "industry intelligence and assimilability," but southern Germans, Austrians, Galicians, Russians, and Poles were eyed doubtfully because of their alleged "servility, inveterate lying, illiteracy, unsanitary habits, allowing women to work in the fields, labouring on the sabbath, loving liquor, and assimilating slowly."[8] The Methodist church adopted a twofold strategy to "Canadianize" the foreigner. First, the church lobbied governments to implement all possible means of assimilation, including compulsory school attendance in English-language public schools, and temperance and sabbath observance laws. Secondly, missions were established to "Christianize" the continental Europeans, most of whom remained stubbornly attached to their own religious traditions.[9]

In Saskatchewan in 1916 only 54.5 percent of the population of 647,835 were of British origin. There were large numbers of Germans (11.9 percent), Scandinavians (9.21 percent), Austro-Hungarians (9.15 percent), Russians, Poles, and Ukrainians (6.16 percent), and French (5 percent), not to mention lesser numbers of other groupings.[10] If "aliens" constituted a threat anywhere, they did in Saskatchewan. Lieutenant Governor G.W. Brown simultaneously raised the alarm and supplied a justification for Regina College: "Because of the vast influx of foreign settlers, the Anglo-Saxons of the West [are] fighting for their lives.... It was a question of being drawn down to lower levels and ideals or drawing these people up to theirs."[11] Premier Walter Scott made use of a similar argument:

I think it may well be pointed out that any and every planned educational effort in one of these new Western Canadian Provinces can not fail to be a valuable agency in an Imperial sense. We are gathering peoples from almost every civilized land. They come with a score or more of different languages from countries having differing customs and aims and a great task is thrown upon the authorities here and also upon the churches to so handle the children and younger generation of these peoples that they may become acquainted with the English language and imbued with the sentiments common to all true British citizens. I am satisfied that Regina College as it was planned and as it is being conducted will bear a full share of the sort of work indicated.[12]

In actual fact, Regina College student registers listed very few non-Anglo-Saxon names. The intentions of the founders and supporters of the college were, at least in this respect, not completely fulfilled.

However, the college could fill a major gap in the education system. The provincial government employed H.W. Foght, specialist in rural school practice of the Bureau of Education in Washington, DC, in 1916 to conduct a survey. His report uncovered serious deficiencies. Only 129,439 of the 165,176 young people in Saskatchewan between the ages of six and eighteen were attending school. Foght especially criticised low secondary school enrolments: "The breach between the elementary and secondary schools has been needlessly wide and difficult to span, and has made high school rather exclusive and aristocratic in its tendencies."[13] In 1916 the province had only twenty-two high schools, and just 17.4 percent of children aged fourteen to eighteen were receiving secondary education. The main problem was the shortage of high schools in the rural areas. Secondary education, in theory the right of all, was in practice the exclusive privilege of those who lived near a high school. A church-run residential school would be a godsend for rural parents who were anxious to give their children a good education, but were understandably reluctant to send a fourteen-year-old to take board and room in a strange city.

The location of the college in Regina made sense in view of the decision on 7 April 1909 to make Saskatoon the site of the university. Premier Scott was informed of the reaction of his political supporters in Regina to the university news:

The majority of them were so genuinely flabbergasted with the decision that very little was said for a day or two, but the longer they thought it over the angrier most of them became, and by Saturday morning there were quite a number of prominent Grits

vowing summary vengeance upon all and sundry connected with the Government. A hurry-up meeting of about twenty or so of the workers was held and I believe the gathering was one of the warmest that has taken place in Regina for many moons.[14]

Almost immediately discussion began about the possibility of a college for Regina, discussion that worried Walter Murray, the university president:

This Regina movement is not perhaps a very formidable obstacle today, but two or three of the men behind it, such as P. McAra and possibly Norman Mackenzie, and one or two others, are men who have considerable wealth and who are very determined; in fact, so determined that it may be difficult to distinguish determination from obstinacy. If the supporters of the movement are so skilful they can so inflame civic pride that they can secure a decent grant from the city, we may have in this province an institution like Brandon College while it is possible that some church may take advantage of the inflamed state of opinion in Regina to build up a church college.[15]

Thus, a number of developments coincided to generate interest in the establishment of a college: the Methodist tradition of direct involvement in education, the desire of the Methodist church to have a visible presence in one of the fastest growing parts of the country at a time when other denominations were making significant gains in membership, the shortage of secondary schools, and Regina's wounded civic pride at the loss of the university.

The college idea surfaced in June 1909 at the annual meeting of the Saskatchewan Methodist Conference. The education committee presented the relevant considerations:

1. *That whereas the Provincial University has been established on the broadest possible lines including departments not usually covered by university work, but notwithstanding this fact we feel that there are sections of our educational work, which will not be covered by the government.*
2. *That whereas while we are proud to realize the interest in and work for our institutions of secondary education in our High Schools and Collegiate Institutions, that even then these will not cover the whole ground of educational need in Saskatchewan.*
3. *That whereas many of the smaller towns and villages will not be able to maintain a High School or Collegiate and in these communities there will be families of wealth and*

ambition for the higher education of their children who would not be willing to send their sons or daughter to an indifferent boarding house at the seat of a High School or Collegiate, but would send them to a boarding school under the control of the Church.

4. *The Conference appoint a special committee 'to investigate the educational needs of the province from the standpoint of the Methodist Church.'*[16]

The driving force behind the Regina College movement came from Metropolitan Methodist Church, whose pastor was Joseph H. Oliver. He worked hard to mobilise support and, together with George W. Brown, a prominent member of the congregation, addressed the special committee of the Saskatchewan Conference on behalf of the college. On 10 February 1910 the committee debated the following resolution:

> *the time has come when the Methodist Church in order to fulfil her duties to the rapidly rising population of Saskatchewan, and in order to maintain her position in that Province must provide for the education within the Province of the sons and daughters of the Methodists and others who desire to take advantage of the facilities offered. . . . the immediate and primary necessity is for a preparatory residential school for both sexes offering courses in collegiate, first year university, and possibly second year university work, music and business, and an elementary course for older students who have not been able to obtain a good public school education.*[17]

The resolution anticipated all the main fields of endeavour of the church college for the next twenty-three years, including the teaching of second year university classes which did not begin until 1925. Both Oliver and Brown gave what were described as "earnest and forceful" speeches in favour of the resolution, and, perhaps more to the point, offered an attractive financial arrangement. Metropolitan Methodist Church in Regina would obtain a site for the college and raise $175,000, provided the same amount was raised by the conference in the rest of Saskatchewan.[18] The conference unhesitatingly approved the scheme.

The next step was to obtain the endorsement of the governing bodies of the national church. Oliver and Brown won unanimous support at a meeting of the General Board of Education in Toronto on 2 March 1910. The board expressed

> *its grateful appreciation of the splendid offer of the Methodists of Regina, Saskatchewan, to establish a Methodist Connexional*

> *Secondary College in Regina under the name of the 'Saskatchewan College' with a charter similar to that possessed by Alberta College, Alberta, and we hereby recommend to the General Conference Special Committee the approval of the establishment of this College.*[19]

The General Conference Special Committee met the same afternoon to study the recommendation and lost no time in giving their assent. A slate of thirty names, which Oliver and Brown doubtless brought with them, was approved as the first board of governors. The only subsequent change to the resolution was the change of name from Saskatchewan to Regina College. President Murray protested to the government that the university should have sole proprietary right to the word "Saskatchewan."

Regina College received a charter of incorporation from the provincial government on 23 April 1911. The statute provided for the appointment every four years of a board of governors, of not less than thirty and not more than forty-five, by the General Conference of the Methodist church. The board was empowered to make regulations concerning "all matters and things which to them may seem good, fit and useful for the well ordering, governing and advancement" of the college. The charter explicitly prohibited regulations involving religious discrimination. In every other respect, the board had authority to manage the institution, including the hiring of a president, defining duties of staff, and setting salaries. Although the full board of governors convened only once or twice a year, an executive committee of about fifteen met monthly and exercised a very considerable influence. The degree of influence depended upon the ability and strength of the president. When the president was capable and strong, the executive committee tended to fade into the background. When the president was weaker, the executive had to pick up the slack.

The charter made mention of the senate, composed of the board of governors, the president, and the faculty, and responsible for the academic program. During the life of Regina College, the senate never seemed to wield much real power. The key decisions involved money, and the purse strings were tightly held by the board of governors.

The board first met on 13 April 1910 in the parlours of Metropolitan Methodist Church, with the Reverend Dr. Albert Carman, general superintendent of the Methodist church, presiding. The board, enlarged from the original membership of thirty, consisted of fifteen Regina members, eighteen from outside Regina, and ten clergymen from various points in Saskatchewan. After an opening prayer, Dr. Carman recalled various experiences related to the beginnings of other Methodist educational institutions and concluded by wishing Regina College "magnificent

success." The meeting then turned to practical matters, the election of officers and committees. George W. Brown was named the first chairman, with D.J. Thom as secretary and Justice J.T. Brown as treasurer. Committees were appointed to select a president, to choose a site, and to prepare a fund-raising plan.[20] Four of the men who attended the first meeting of the board of governors in 1910 and accepted positions on the executive still sat on the board in 1934, the year the church handed the college over to the University of Saskatchewan. They were D.J. Thom, J.A. Cross, F.N. Darke, and J.T. Brown, each with twenty-four years of continuous service. Other founders who stayed with the college for many years were W.E. Mason and J.W. Hannon (each with twenty-three years), C.M. Willoughby (twenty-two years), and J.W. Smith (seventeen years). The core of the board of governors displayed remarkable continuity and stability. Many others, in addition to those named, had impressive records of service.

This group of men shared a common commitment to the college. All belonged to Metropolitan Methodist Church, a fact that underlines the umbilical connection between the congregation of that church and the college. All of them could be characterized as self-made men who had taken advantage of the opportunities presented by the booming western economy. Since Regina in the early 1900s was growing at a dazzling pace, investors who knew what they were doing or were simply lucky could make a lot of money. The population jumped from 2,249 in 1901 to 30,213 ten years later.[21] Building permits, which scarcely exceeded $200,000 in 1904, surpassed $8 million in 1912. A new city hall, fire hall, and post office sprang up, as well as the imposing provincial Legislative Building. Private interests built the King's Hotel, the Darke Block, and the ten-storey McCallum-Hill building, the tallest in the province. A permanent street paving program began in 1906, the first concrete sidewalks were laid down the same year, and the street railway began operating in 1911.[22]

Speculation in real estate was rife and potentially very lucrative. In 1906 a speculator purchased six downtown lots for $22,000 and sold them seven months later for a cool $30,000. One of the most spectacular real estate coups was the purchase by three partners of fourteen thousand acres of farmland that became Wascana Park, the Legislative grounds, and the exclusive residential area of Lakeview. The farmer who owned the site of the future Legislative Building asked to be paid in one-dollar bills packed in a black satchel. The buyer happily obliged, knowing full well the tidy sum to be made reselling the land.[23] Regina in those years partook of the atmosphere of "the great barbecue." The boom psychology was fed "by boundless optimism in business circles, incredible real estate promotions and the reiterated claims of a multitude of boosters."[24]

Into this maelstrom of money-making stepped George W. Brown, who came from Ontario in 1882. After farming for a few years, he took up the study of law and, upon admission to the bar in 1891, formed a partnership with Norman Mackenzie. The law firm attracted important corporate clients, enabling Brown to acquire directorships in such companies as Northern Trust, Central Canada Trust and Guarantee, Northern Mortgage, and National Trust. An active Liberal, he won election to the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories. His interest in education led to service on the public school board and a deep commitment to Regina College.[25] His law partner, Norman Mackenzie, also had an important connection with the college in that he later bequeathed his art collection and estate for the construction of a gallery. Yet another partner in the same firm was Douglas J. Thom, a graduate of Osgoode Law School, who joined Mackenzie and Brown in 1903. Thom wrote the definitive textbook on land titles in western Canada, *Thom's Canadian Torrens System*. A man with exemplary dedication to community service, he served at various times as chairman of the Civic Relief Board, president of the Canadian Club, president of the Board of Trade, president of the Navy League, president of the Orchestral Society, president of the Community Chest, and chairman of the Collegiate Board. While many of his contemporaries in the legal profession were fully absorbed in the race for riches, Thom found other outlets for his energy. Near the end of his life, he confessed to having belonged to every organisation in the city, except any organisation from which he might have made money.[26] As secretary of the Regina College board of governors from 1910 to 1934, he kept the minutes and handled the correspondence for the entire lifespan of the church college. His knowledge of the history and inner workings of the institution must have been unrivalled.

Francis N. Darke also served on the board for twenty-four years. Born in Prince Edward Island, he came to Regina in 1892 when it was little more than a village with mud streets. He purchased a butcher shop and did a profitable business, making various financial and real estate investments. As with George Brown, business and politics went together in the career of Frank Darke. Mayor of Regina in 1898 at the age of thirty-five, alderman nine times, he was briefly a Liberal Member of Parliament in 1925. He obligingly vacated his seat to enable Premier Charles A. Dunning to enter the House of Commons and the federal cabinet. While Darke's shrewd business instincts gained him great wealth, his social conscience prompted him to give much of it away. He donated the Metropolitan Church chimes and gave Darke Hall to Regina College, a fine-looking music and art building which stood on College Avenue across the street from his residence.[27]

Jacob W. Smith, one of the original members of the board of governors and a subscriber of $10,000 to the college, rose to wealth and influence along a path similar to that of F.N. Darke. Smith left a flourishing hardware business in Brigden, Ontario, to take up residence in Regina in 1883. He had part ownership of the Smith Ferguson Coal Company and numerous real estate holdings. A member of the school board for six years, an alderman for four years, and mayor for five years, he was in the forefront of civic affairs.[28]

The pattern of aggressive entrepreneurship and community leadership also fits Charles Morley Willoughby.[29] A member of the first board of governors, he donated $15,000 to launch the college. In the 1920s he contributed another substantial sum to help pay for the gymnasium. A newcomer in Regina from Ontario in 1882, Willoughby found employment as a bricklayer and builder. He started a contracting firm, and his lumber business eventually became the Beaver Lumber Company. Financial and real estate investments augmented his fortune. He became a figure of consequence in the financial world: president of the Saskatchewan Life Insurance Company, president of the Regina Brokerage and Investment Company, vice-president of Western Manufacturing Company, vice-president of the Regina Foundry Company, and a director of the Saskatchewan General Trust Company, the New Regina Trading Company, and the Capital Ice Company. His son Morley formed a partnership with Bill Houston in 1925 to launch the investment company of Houston and Willoughby. Morley Willoughby was appointed to the college board of governors in May 1932 to fill the vacancy caused by the death of his father. The son's ties to the college were further strengthened by his marriage to Miss Florence Tutt, one of the more popular of the girls' instructors.

Willoughby, Smith, Darke and Brown were all self-made men, whose fortunes grew with the city of Regina. They came from the east with nothing or next to nothing to a place that was nothing or next to nothing. Inevitably they were Regina boosters, because Regina's prosperity was the same as their prosperity, literally so, given their large real estate investments. Since they wanted the city to be administered so as to create a good environment for business, they took a direct hand in civic government. None of these four men had a university education, but they had sufficient respect for learning to undertake the foundation of a college. Besides, a college in the city was good for business. A special "Real Estate Edition" of the Regina *Leader*, 14 June 1912, touting the marvels of the city's expansion, mentioned the Methodist college as a signal proof of urban maturity. The article went on to intimate that in Regina College, St. Chad's (the Anglican college), and a projected Roman Catholic college, the city possessed the nucleus of the University of Southern Saskatchewan.[30]

Some of the most loyal and longest-serving members of the board of governors were not primarily businessmen, but lawyers, although admittedly the distinction is not always an easy one to make. James Albert ("Jimmy") Cross was the college solicitor from 1910 to 1934. A native of Caledonia Springs, Ontario, he came west in 1898, working on a farm and as a teacher to put himself through law school. As head of the firm of Cross, Jonah, Hugg, and Forbes, he handled many of the province's biggest cases. His career as a lawyer was interrupted by World War I, in which he saw distinguished service, being awarded the Distinguished Service Order following the Battle of Vimy Ridge. Upon his return to Canada, he became the officer commanding Military District No. 12 in Saskatchewan. While still overseas, he had been elected to the provincial legislature as a soldiers' representative. He was re-elected in 1921, accepting the post of attorney-general in the Liberal administration of Charles Dunning. He retired from politics in 1927 to resume his legal practice.[31]

Two other stalwarts on the board of governors were Judge James W. Hannon (twenty-three years) and Justice James T. Brown (twenty-four years). Hannon settled in Prince Albert in 1898 before his appointment as judge of Regina district court in 1909.[32] Brown graduated from McGill University with a Bachelor of Arts in 1893, moved west the same year, and practised law first in Winnipeg and then in Moosomin. He was elected to the Saskatchewan Legislature for the Provincial Rights Party in 1905, but resigned his seat to run unsuccessfully as a Liberal candidate in the 1908 federal election. In 1910 he was elevated to the Supreme Court of Saskatchewan, and, eight years later, became chief justice of King's Bench court.[33]

Since the board of governors had a membership of almost forty-five, hundreds of men were members during the twenty-four years the college belonged to the Methodist (and United) church. However, effective power resided in the executive committee, which had a relatively stable composition. These men were brought together in the first instance by common membership in Metropolitan Methodist Church and, secondly, by a common commitment to the college. The Metropolitan was the mother church, providing the college with leaders of means, ability, and steadfast purpose.

One of the most important and difficult tasks facing the first board of governors was financial. A delegation went to city council with a request for land. To demonstrate the viability of the project, the delegates furnished a list of pledges which had already been made:

George W. Brown	$30,000
Francis N. Darke	$20,000
Charles Willoughby	$15,000
Jacob W. Smith	$10,000
John A. Graham	$ 5,000
T.W. Peart	$ 5,000
Anonymous donor	$15,000

The Reverend J.H. Oliver, Metropolitan Church minister, explained why the college proposal deserved support. He asked city council to consider what made a nation truly great: "a nation could not be great because it had vast belts of wheat land. It was not great because it may have great mineral wealth or forest or sea wealth. The real assets of a nation were to be found in the manhood and womanhood of the land."[34] J.W. Smith dealt with the issue of a possible conflict with the University of Saskatchewan. He pointed out the college would complement rather than compete with the university, since students who received their preliminary training in Regina could go to Saskatoon for more advanced work.

The council had on previous occasions given gifts of land or sums of money to encourage the construction of public buildings, for example, Grey Nuns Hospital and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Aldermen now voted to donate to the Methodist college the block of land bounded by 14th Avenue on the north, 15th Avenue on the south, Hamilton Street on the east and Scarth Street on the west (currently the Central Collegiate playing field). The grant was made on the condition that buildings to the value of at least $200,000 would be erected within or adjacent to the city. The block of land donated to the college was occupied in 1910 by Victoria Hospital, usually referred to as "the old hospital building," a light tan brick building surrounded by luxuriant caragana hedges and lawns facing on Hamilton Street.[35] The hospital intended to vacate the building, allowing the college to move in until permanent college buildings were ready. The property itself was too small for the college site and would have to be sold, the proceeds going towards the purchase of more spacious grounds.

Meanwhile, the board of governors initiated a campaign for the building fund and selected, in June 1910, the Reverend E.J. Chegwin of Moose Jaw to lead the canvass.[36] The results fell short of expectations, and seven months later, having raised only $25,000 of the $125,000 goal, Chegwin handed in his resignation. The board of governors now turned to the Reverend J.H. Oliver, one of the main instigators of the college, who began to organise a canvass in February 1911. Since the severe winter conditions made travel in the countryside hazardous, Oliver concentrated his first efforts in the city. Regina responded in a striking manner, contributing

$40,000 in the first ten days and $185,000 altogether.[37] Donations from outside the city came more slowly and amounted, in March 1911, to $35,000.[38] A welcome boost was a gift of $100,000 from the Masseys, a well-known Toronto family who owned a large agricultural machinery manufacturing company. Vincent Massey, in later years the first Canadian-born governor general, accepted an invitation to join the Regina College board of governors. *The Christian Guardian*, a Methodist publication, hailed the Massey decision to support the college: "We do not know of any other Methodist educational project that was ever inaugurated under equally favourable conditions. The splendid success of the scheme seems absolutely ensured."[39]

The Reverend J.H. Oliver's exertions on behalf of the building fund cost him his health. He suffered a breakdown, which necessitated his resignation not only from college duties, but also from the pastorate of Metropolitan Church. The official board of the church acknowledged his self-sacrifice: "We appreciate that Methodism in Saskatchewan owes a great debt to him for his services during the past two years and indeed we recognize that the burdens which this Board and Regina College have placed on him have caused his present breakdown in health, which fact in itself places us under an obligation to him quite impossible to repay."[40]

Most of Oliver's building fund consisted of pledges, that is, people committed themselves to pay a certain amount of money in equal annual instalments over a three- or five-year period. The Imperial Bank agreed to extend a line of credit of $150,000, taking as collateral $200,000 in promissory notes.[41] The line of credit provided immediate cash to start construction of a building, but the arrangement was inherently risky. If for some reason the subscribers failed to make their payments, the college would be left in a vulnerable and precarious financial position.

Before building could begin, a site had to be selected. The board of governors made an excellent choice, twenty-three acres on the north side of Wascana Lake, purchased from the provincial government at a cost of $2,000 per acre. The land was sold, not donated, in keeping with the University of Saskatchewan request that no provincial aid should go to denominational colleges. The site, overlooking the lake and with a splendid view of the Legislative Building, was one of the most scenic in Regina. Eventually, there were even some trees. The architects for the college building were Brown and Vallance of Montreal, the same firm that designed the first main building at the University of Saskatchewan.[42] The firm of R.J. Lecky received the construction contract for $268,780, and building commenced in the spring of 1911.[43]

Knowing that a new institution demanded strong, effective leadership, the board began to consider candidates for president. Men involved in the educational work of the Methodist church in Ontario and eastern Canada mentioned favourably the name of the Reverend Wilbur William Andrews, dean of the Faculty of Applied Science, Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick. Interviewed in Regina in October 1910, Andrews left a good impression and was offered the job. Unfortunately he was unable to leave his duties at Mount Allison until June 1911, but when the Regina board of governors realized the impossibility of organizing a college without a president, they made strong representations to the university. Consequently, a way was found to free Andrews to come to Regina in January 1911.

The new president had graduated from Victoria University, Cobourg (later relocated in Toronto and affiliated with the University of Toronto), and had taught at Mount Allison since 1890, where he made a mark as an innovator responsible for the thorough revision of the science curriculum, shifting the emphasis from textbook memorization to laboratory work. An active researcher, he developed new chemical apparatus, such as a self-regulating gas generator subsequently manufactured in Germany. He published scholarly articles in the journals of the American Chemical Society and the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

Ordained a Methodist minister in 1887, Andrews identified with the social gospel, a movement to apply the principles of Christianity to the collective ills of industrialised society. The social gospel exerted a major force in Canada, particularly in the Methodist and other Protestant churches, from the 1890s to the 1930s. Andrews's sympathies were evident from his chairmanship in 1902 of a Methodist connectional committee that condemned a variety of economic evils, in particular the accumulation of wealth for its own sake and financial speculation.[44] A high point of the social gospel was the massive gathering of reform enthusiasts at the Social Service Congress in Ottawa in 1914. Andrews delivered a speech entitled "Political Corruption and its Cure," which contained a number of progressive opinions, notably endorsation of voting rights for women, approval of Chinese immigration into Canada, and support for "socialistic legislation" along the lines introduced by Bismarck in Germany and Lloyd George in Britain.[45]

Andrews's progressive views were shared wholeheartedly by his wife, a prominent leader in the women's suffrage movement. Mrs. Nellie Greenwood Andrews had the distinction of being the first woman in Canada to graduate with a Bachelor of Science degree, a feat she accomplished at Victoria College in 1884. She travelled extensively throughout the Province of Saskatchewan collecting signatures to petitions demanding the

vote for women. The petitions were ultimately presented to Premier Walter Scott on the floor of the legislature and led to the granting of the female franchise in 1916. Mrs. Andrews also served as the first Saskatchewan president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the first woman elected to the Regina collegiate board. A lively, sparkling woman, she was known for her "taste in smart hats" and her sense of humour. She once confessed that she preferred the Bible to murder mystery novels: "Why, in the Old Testament there are often whole pages of murders, not just one as in the modern stories."[46]

Dr. and Mrs. Andrews arrived in Regina in January 1911, and the president immediately began working out policies and planning courses. He envisaged a residential college "pervaded by an earnest spirit of devotion to high ideals of citizenship and Christian obligation." His ideal of a well-rounded education, inspired by Christian principles, left a lasting imprint on the institution. Long after his departure, character building and good citizenship, as opposed to narrow, specialised training, remained the basic goals of Regina College. Andrews found anomalous the exclusion of the Bible, of all books, from public schools. He thought it should be read not "as a sectarian theological textbook" but as a great work of literature whose truth should "be permitted to shine in its own light and make its own appeal."

Among the groups expected to benefit most from Regina College were older students who, because of the scarcity of schools in pioneer districts, had missed out on their primary education. Such students could not qualify for high school, but were too old to attend elementary grades without embarrassment. Regina College opened its doors to all persons at least fourteen years of age and offered to bring them up to grade eight standing. The high school classes appealed to students from rural parts of Saskatchewan where secondary schools did not exist. Young people from farms and small towns now had the opportunity to live in a well supervised residence and pursue the regular courses of study laid out by the provincial department of education.

President Andrews introduced a unique feature of the curriculum called the course in human relations:

> *in which their [the students] duties to each other will be discussed by themselves with their teacher, and also their duties and privileges in the State, the methods of our government, the responsibilities of the various classes in the community towards each other and so forth, so that they may see the reason why public spiritedness and unselfish aims are demanded by the very conditions of our social and national life.*[47]

The emphasis on cooperation and the individual's responsibility to the community flowed directly from Andrews's commitment to the social gospel. He further maintained that good citizenship also involved practical knowledge about the structure and functions of the human body, personal hygiene, rules for maintaining good health, and first aid. Women needed to know the basics of nursing and domestic science ("that science that yields a new delight to many a humdrum task in the home") and the boys required some manual training in "carpentry, wood-turning, and forging."

In keeping with Andrews's belief that the college should train graduates capable of taking an effective part in society, he wanted the curriculum to reflect the agricultural base of the economy. Lectures in physics, chemistry and biology were illustrated by examples and experiments drawn from the garden and the farm. The boy who intended to go back to the farm became acquainted with the scientific principles underlying daily agricultural operations. His work at home "will therefore have cast upon it a new intellectual interest that will not only give him a larger and finer life, but will make him more efficient as a practical farmer."

Andrews based all his plans on the desire to make the college an instrument of Christian social service. While not all of his detailed ideas were permanently implemented, his general approach had staying power, and, in that sense, he put the college on a course from which it never wavered. Having sketched out a program, Andrews turned to the appointment of staff. His greatest "find" was the Reverend Egerton Roswell Doxsee, B.A., B.D., who taught classics at Regina College from 1911 to 1932, the longest record of anyone. Born in Hastings County, Ontario, in 1869, he graduated from Victoria University in 1892 with first class honours and the Prince of Wales silver medal for general proficiency. An ordained Methodist minister, he taught for several years at the Methodist college in Belleville, Ontario, before coming to Regina.[48] He was a respected and beloved teacher, the embodiment of all that was best in Regina College.

The first dean of women was Miss M.L. Bollert, M.A., a graduate of the University of Toronto with honours in modern languages and history. Her previous experience included the principalship of Alma College, St. Thomas, Ontario, and a stint as lecturer at the Horace Mann Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York.[49] She brought to Regina a reputation for being "a very clever and effective speaker, of superior teaching power and a strong and powerful personality, not merely a good teacher but a character former and educator in the highest sense of the word."[50] The students gave her the nickname "Her Ladyship" because of her dignified bearing and close attention to proper etiquette.[51]

Another important appointment for the success of the college was that of C.E. Walker to head the business department. A member of the Dominion Association of Chartered Accountants, he had held the positions of principal of Forest City Business College in London, Ontario, and principal of the business department at Brandon College. He married one of the teachers at Regina College and later took a professorship in commerce at Queen's University.[52] The other member of the business faculty in the college's first year was Miss Mabel Gibson, instructor in stenography, shorthand and typewriting. One of the daily newspapers made a point of noting: "She is the niece of the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario and will no doubt be warmly welcomed in social circles in Regina."[53]

To teach the human relations course, Andrews selected a graduate of Wesley College, the Reverend Hugh Dobson, B.A., B.D. He was considered "one of the brilliant men of the Saskatchewan Conference. . .a sound thinker, a brilliant speaker but withal more of a teacher than anything else."[54] Imbued with the social gospel, Dobson subsequently rose to a high position in the Evangelism and Social Service department of the Methodist church.

The music department got off to a good start under the guidance of the first director, Dr. J.E. Hodgson, formerly organist at one of the major churches in Glasgow, Scotland. He was ably assisted by Franklin L. Laubach, the organist at St. Paul's Anglican pro Cathedral in Regina and founder of the city's symphony orchestra, and W.H. Buckley, organist and choirmaster at Metropolitan Methodist Church. Miss Camilla Kramer and Miss Mary Munro were hired to teach piano and violin.[55]

Regina College opened its doors for classes on Tuesday, 5 September 1911. Twenty-seven students enrolled, mostly teenagers, but also a few older men and women. Tuition was $38 per year, plus $5 to $7 a month for room and $4.50 per week for board.[56] First to register was Miss Blanche Swanson of Weyburn, while Miss Mary Elwood of Clapton had the distinction of being the first student to actually arrive for classes. Some of the older students were Methodist church probationers who had already served or were at the time preaching on circuits in the Regina vicinity. Even after the term had started letters continued to pour in from young people interested in enrolling after the harvest. Consequently, a second registration was arranged for 15 October. Farm workers who had never had a chance to go to school saw a golden opportunity:

> *Many years ago me* [sic] *and my brother went to school for a few years, but when we came out here we all had to work and leave school. Now we have made some money and feel that we can not make the best of things without more training.*

Have you any course which will fit us for the life which we have open to us here. We want to have a good start in English and be able to get something out of life. When should we come in? We are ready now.[57]

The first classes were held in the old hospital building, 2240 Hamilton Street, which had been renovated for the purpose. A house for the girls' residence had been moved on to the property facing Scarth Street. The boys as yet had no residence, but were helped to find rooms in private homes in the city. Students took their meals in a dining room fitted up in the basement of the old hospital building. Meanwhile, construction proceeded on the new building on College Avenue. Hazel Hill, one of the original twenty-seven students, recalled how she and her friend would go over to the construction site and speculate as to what room they wanted once the building was completed. They settled on a room on the third floor overlooking the street with a good view of the boys attending the collegiate opposite.[58]

Despite the cramped quarters and meagre equipment, a good spirit prevailed among faculty and students. "Classes went with a swing and good work was done."[59] The supporters of the college who gathered for the cornerstone laying ceremony on 25 October 1911 could be well satisfied with what had been accomplished in so short a time. Subscriptions amounting to more than $300,000 had been raised, an impressive building was nearing completion, President Andrews had put together a team of dedicated and capable teachers, and students were flocking to the college. By the end of the first academic year, the original enrolment of 27 had swollen to 63 in the academic department, 58 in business, and 109 in music.[60] The wealthy and public-spirited members of Metropolitan Methodist Church who formed the backbone of the board of governors had every reason to believe in the future success of their venture. Regina, so deeply disappointed by the failure to get the provincial university in 1909, had mobilised to establish a college, which not only added an important asset to the city, but also provided new educational opportunities. For, as President Andrews liked to repeat, "That there should be one man ignorant who had a capacity for knowledge, that I call a tragedy."

NOTES

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28 SAB, Clippings file, Biography, J.W. Smith; transcript of interview with Mr. and Mrs. J.W. Smith, PHR, Clippings file, J.W. Smith.
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34 Regina *Leader*, 15 February 1910.
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TWO

First Crisis

"...unless relief is speedily obtained the College will simply have to go out of business."

On 3 November 1913 over six hundred guests, among them some of the city's leading citizens, attended a glittering reception at Regina College. The rooms were decked in bunting in the college colours, brown, blue and white, with "flags-a-plenty adding a bright and patriotic touch." Lieutenant Governor G.W. Brown and Mrs. Brown, Mayor Robert Martin and Mrs. Martin, President Robert Milliken and Mrs. Milliken, and Miss Bollert, dean of women, formed the receiving line. Much attention was given to the gowns worn by the women, especially Miss Bollert's "striking creation of bronzed satin, with drapery of black lace appliqued in ecru and just a touch of Melrose satin." The visitors inspected the classrooms and exhibits prepared by the students, until, a signal being given, everyone filed downstairs to the dining room, where an elegant supper was served on the "dainty special Regina College china of white banded with blue and crested in brown."[1]

Regina College had every appearance of prosperity and success, but the reality was far different. Beneath the surface, the institution was experiencing life-threatening financial and administrative difficulties. The recession of 1913 hit the college hard as many subscribers who had promised money were unable to meet their obligations. The contraction of credit, caused by the outbreak of World War I, made matters even worse. As if the financial problems were not enough, the board of governors dismissed the president for alleged incompetence. After a lengthy search a replacement was found, who shortly thereafter left of his own accord. Before the crisis was over, the college approached the brink of total collapse, and not until 1915 was there a glimmer of hope for survival.

Even as the problems grew more and more serious, the college continued to make headway in other areas. Enrolment increased from 209 in 1911-12 to 334 in 1912-13, before dipping slightly to 329 in 1913-14.[2] The faculty expanded from 11 to 21, 6 of whom were in the academic department, 4 in the business department, 1 in household science, and 10 in music.[3] The preparatory department for older students without grade eight standing could take pride in some *bona fide* success stories. One involved a boy of eighteen who came unable to read: "Special classes

were arranged under Miss Tutt and he went home at Easter able to read in the Second book and looking forward to another winter at college—a mental and even physical transformation wonderful to notice."[4] A man and a woman, both aged twenty-two, could barely read and write when they started, while another man aged twenty-six was only slightly further advanced. All three progressed so rapidly that they stood a fair chance of completing grades one to eight in two years.[5]

The academic department developed and enlarged its program, following the curriculum laid down by the provincial department of education for junior and senior matriculation. In our terms, junior matriculation was the equivalent of grade eleven, while senior matriculation was the same as grade twelve. A student with junior matriculation could enter the university; a student with senior matriculation was considered to have completed the first year of university. The academic courses taught at Regina College could also lead to a third class, second class or first class teaching certificate, equivalent respectively to grades ten, eleven and twelve. Junior and senior matriculation required a classical language, either Latin or Greek; the teaching certificates did not.

Whereas classical studies now have at best a peripheral status, they were then a central part of the curriculum. The purpose of studying the classical languages was not simply to drill in grammar and composition, but "to bring the student to a living conception of the literature, art, and civilization of the Greeks and Romans."[6] Junior students read sections of Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* and Virgil's *Aeneid*. The seniors studied parts of Horace's *Odes*, Virgil's *Georgics*, and Cicero's *Pro Lege Manilia*. The Greek texts were drawn from Xenophon's *Anabasis* and *Hellenica* and Homer's *Odyssey*. Latin, until 1937 a prerequisite for admission to the University of Saskatchewan, brought pleasure to some students, but misery to others:

> *Latin! O, Latin is my downfall, for I do not like it. It maketh me to attend detention, it getteth me into hot water. It boreth my soul; it leadeth into the paths of profanity those who take it. Yea, though I plot till midnight I shall never learn it; it plagues my sleep. Its nouns and verbs discomfort me. They have prepared an exam before me and my cup of bitterness runneth over. Surely this thing shall not follow me all the days of my life, else I shall soon dwell in the house of the insane forever.*[7]

Latin laid the foundation for the study of English, French and German. The English instructors placed great emphasis on the rules of grammar and composition, warning students: "Work palpably defective in spelling, writing, and paragraphing will not be accepted."[8] The works of literature

selected for study were classics by such authors as Shakespeare, Milton, Tennyson, Byron, Scott, Wordsworth, Shelley, Coleridge, Browning, and Macaulay. The quality of some of the student writing was astonishingly good. Take, for example, a piece by Vernon Fowke, later professor of economics at the University of Saskatchewan and one of the foremost historians of agriculture in Canada. "When Chaucer Went to College," published in the 1925 yearbook, gives an account of students returning to the residence for the fall term:

Whan that Octobre with his windes shrille
The heet of August rapidlye doth kille,
When saddened school boys slow their way wende,
To where the days drag on withoute ende.
For there they know full well what them awaits,
As they recall the Latin and the slates.

Bifel that in that sesoun on a daye,
In College, in three twenty as I laye,
Redy to wend my waye down to classe,
To lerne at Trig and Chemistry fortasse,
Into my room there came some more like me,
Boys lothe to work and studye all the deye.

Among them was a very yonge Squyer,
A woman hater and a bachelor,
With lokkes crulle as they were laid in presse,
Of twenty years or less his age I gesse,
His garb methinks, was mostly mottelle
His boots were clasped faire and fetishly
His jazz bow striped was yellow, pink, and grene,
A deadly snare for insects all I wene.
And from appearance of this freshman grene,
I knew he must be cleped Percy Gene.

A scientist was in this compaigne,
Mong radio and cables levere be,
Than have commission on College staff.
Withal, his talk on science made me laff.
And in his suitcase was a motley melle
Of wire, pliers, wax, and tungsten celle
Full lene and holwe looked this quondam youthe,
As if his purs held little cash forsoothe.
His head above his ears was getting balled
By some such name as Fletcher was he called.

There also were commercials longe and lene,
For earth was far below their cloud capped bene
In sooth their heighte would have bene fore grette,
But for so muche flattened out in feete.
Their leggs were bowed as a potato bowle,
For which they muchly feered the windes colde,
At boxing matches they were muchly kene,
And smote each other crudely, as I ween.
Description of their dresse I will not trye,
For I am colour blinde and that is whye.
Suffice it to say, as runs the clock,
These worthy wights were cleped Norm and Jock.

A Monk there was prepared for ministry,
For he was simple to the third degree.
He was not over anxious to get seke,
By studying severely all the weke.
In fact no brain work e're would make him balled,
For all his upper story would was called.
Howe'er his visage shoone as any glass,
And belt round his bay window never was.
He was not pale as Caesar's fearsome goost,
A fat duck loved he best of any roost.
Methinks he was a worthy man withalle,
And less or 'More' was cleped by men alle.

This groupe of jovial boys from sondry lee,
Had scarcely got acquainted some with me,
When down the halle a padded step did sounde,
And by the keye I knew we had bene founde.
Into the room did steppe a long doctour
And brecken up our worthye conversour
And tolde us that to classes we should wende,
Or else in studye halle we woulde ende.[9]

The history courses accented British and Canadian topics, with much attention being given to constitutional development. Rounding out the academic program were mathematics (geometry, algebra, and trigonometry) and the sciences (physics, chemistry and biology). Taken altogether, the academic program gave the students a real opportunity to extend themselves intellectually. The university-bound student received a good grounding in English, history, ancient and modern languages, science, and mathematics. Options were few, and "Mickey-Mouse" courses had yet to be invented.

The human relations course instituted by President Andrews evolved into a four-part series. Part one dealt with the anatomy and functioning of the human body and the rules of good health. Part two discussed contemporary social issues, namely, the "causes that have preceded our social problems, inventions and discoveries, effects of machinery, immigration, and causes of the growth of cities and the decrease in rural population, problems of town and country, public spirit, suggested reforms." The third part moved on to examine the duties of citizenship and the principles of democracy, focusing on the elimination of corruption in public life and the difficulties arising from the cosmopolitan nature of Canada's population. Finally, the last part encouraged students to think about moral decisions and "religion as the basis of all moral life."[10]

Special guest lecturers came to the college, for example, the Reverend J.S. Woodsworth, the best known of the social gospel ministers and future leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). He discussed the impact of immigration, industrialisation, and urbanisation upon Canadian society. The students were brought into touch with men and women who had first-hand experience of the social issues being dealt with in the human relations course. Miss Nellie Forman of the Regina Settlement House described her educational and social service work among the city's immigrant poor, and Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, the celebrated suffragist, talked about her recent visit to Russia. Her laudatory account of the achievements of Soviet society after the overthrow of the tsar was enthusiastically received.[11] Student sympathy for progressive ideas and social gospel ideals was reflected in the first issue of the *College Register* in 1914. The editor earnestly set forth what he intended the publication to accomplish:

> *How great then are the opportunities which must inevitably be ours for the creating and moulding of healthy public opinion? We must seek to turn opinion into conviction; then conviction must find expression in action. We must elevate the national ideals; we must strengthen the enfeebled will; we must enlarge the courage and patience of those who battle against wrong; we must inspire with the passion of Christ the men and women who toil and suffer and fight, who find their lives by losing them in the lives of others.*
>
> *The supreme desire that we have for the future of this paper is that it may become a force to be reckoned with in its advocacy of pure morals, and its antagonism to industrial oppression, social wrongs and political corruption.*[12]

The human relations course and the influences of the social gospel differentiated the atmosphere at Regina College from that of the University of Saskatchewan. Michael Hayden in his history of the university characterizes the faculty of arts and science, at least in the early years, as "autocratic, paternalistic, and not particularly sympathetic to real change in society or to new ideas."[13] Regina College, on the other hand, made a deliberate point of making students aware of their social environment and the need for constructive change. Interestingly, these differences between the two institutions before and during World War I showed up again in a later period. The student unrest of the 1960s was much more pronounced at the Regina campus than at Saskatoon.

The human relations course was compulsory not only for the academic students, who made up the core of the student body, but also for the non-academic students. The business department, taking as its credo "We aim to please the business community by supplying competent office help,"[14] offered courses in arithmetic, spelling, English grammar, composition, business correspondence, penmanship, rapid calculation, mental arithmetic, bookkeeping, business practice, commercial law and business forms. Students were introduced to the "Loose Leaf and Card Ledger, the Manifold Billing System, the Ledgerette Billing File, and similar modern systems and appliances." The Regina College business department affiliated with the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Saskatchewan so that recipients of the college business diploma did not have to write the institute's primary examination. Students who had passed the more advanced classes were well prepared for the institute's intermediate examination. The business department also trained stenographers in shorthand and typewriting. Aspiring secretaries were taught to express themselves "clearly and concisely in correctly formed sentences," and were sternly warned, "Lack of this training means failure to the Stenographer."[15]

In 1912, the college inaugurated a combined course in business and agriculture to appeal specifically to farm boys. The course began in the middle of November, after the harvest, and finished at the end of March in plenty of time for spring seeding. Here was another instance of the college's attempt to serve the community by adjusting its program and timetable to accommodate the students. The business side of the course ("every farmer is a businessman") included arithmetic, spelling, English grammar and composition, penmanship, commercial law, commercial geography, and farm bookkeeping. The agricultural subjects were composition of soils, soil management, farm crops and horticulture, livestock and poultry. Experts from the provincial department of agriculture covered specialised topics like cooperation and marketing, and weed and insect control. The students became acquainted with various types of farm

machinery and received practical instruction in the use of gasoline engines. The engineering course dealt with "the use of measuring instruments, levels, etc., laying out fields, roads, irrigation systems, concrete mixing and construction." Although the business/agriculture and academic students followed completely different programs, they lived together in the same residence. The usual rivalries existed, as in the following letter from a "commercial" to the academics:

The Academics, Regina College, Gentlemen and Ladies

You probably think us Commercials is slow, but you don't ever want to be so sure. I notice ever' time you want some money you come to one of us guys. You fellers never had any tin and never will have. Why we even put up a hockey team which has licked the skule and copped the tin cup. . . . Say you fellers, when it comes to girls, we got some birds in our form. We got one which has already got herself mixed in the moils of tatrimony which is more than you can say for any of yours. . . . Thank you,

IMA PHELAN FYNE[16]

The household science or home economics course for girls began in 1912 and corresponded to agriculture for boys. Instruction was given in foods and cookery, hygiene, nutrition and dietetics, household management, sewing and textiles, and "the study of the house," by which was meant "the location and construction of the house, various systems of heating, lighting, and ventilation, and house decoration." In addition to the household science majors, a large number of female academic students took the course as an option. The idea was to send out into the community women prepared to take their places as intelligent and efficient homemakers.[17]

The expansion into household science and agriculture, as well as the increased enrolments, made the completion of the new building all the more necessary. Construction had begun in the spring of 1911 with money borrowed from the Imperial Bank. The bank had accepted as collateral subscription notes, which were essentially promissory notes signed by college supporters. By the end of 1912, $81,818.59 in subscriptions had actually been received, with $229,808.34 still to come. On the strength of these subscriptions the college borrowed $127,776.93 from the bank, which, unfortunately, was not enough to finish the building.[18] The board of governors attempted to borrow $100,000, using the college property as security. When this plan failed, the board of governors decided to sell the block of land granted by the city. The land, worth between $25,000 and $30,000 in 1911, was sold in 1912 to the provincial government for $120,000.[19] According to the terms of the sale, the college could continue

to use the buildings on the property for a few more years. The sale of the land was, in one respect, timely, but in another, ill-advised. The college profited from the real estate boom by disposing of its property before the bottom fell out of the market in the 1913 recession. On the other hand, the block of land had been intended as the college endowment. Now there was no endowment, nor would there ever be, and the college had lost its chance for financial security and independence. The absence of an endowment haunted the college, and, ultimately, made it vulnerable to a take-over by the University of Saskatchewan.

In the short term, however, the money from the sale allowed the construction of the main building to continue. Though not quite finished in the fall of 1912, the structure was used for classes, the students moving through hallways filled with planks and shavings and the instructors lecturing to the accompaniment of whirring saws and pounding hammers.[20] The Duke of Connaught, the third and favourite son of Queen Victoria, and the governor general of Canada from 1911 to 1916, presided at the official opening on 14 October 1912. The governor general accepted the key to the college and, with some difficulty, opened the door. He, the Duchess, and Princess Patricia entered first, followed by Lieutenant Governor Brown and his party.[21] The building was a three-storey structure of reinforced concrete faced with red brick and white sandstone. On the ground floor were administration and faculty offices, classrooms, the library, and music practice rooms. The second floor had lecture rooms and a large amphitheatre suitable for both science demonstrations and chapel services. The second floor was partly, and the third floor entirely, given over to girls' dormitories, while the basement contained laboratories, workshops, the kitchen, and a dining hall with a seating capacity of three hundred. The old hospital building on Hamilton Street, where classes had been held in the first year, was now remodelled to serve as the boys' residence.[22] The new building gave substance and visibility to the college and impressed the eye of a visiting eastern Canadian journalist:

> *The provincial legislative buildings are now half a mile out of the city to the south—a fine pile, worthy of the aspirations of the province. Between these buildings and the city is a body of water which (while you ignore depth) corresponds to the definition given in our school geographies of a lake. At any rate it will be extensive enough for a regatta and deep enough to drown all who are venturesome. Immediately facing this lake from the north is the college property, twenty-three acres in extent. At present the gaol finds its abode here, but this will all be changed, and the immediate neighbors will be the Anglican cathedral and the provincial Normal College, with its provision*

for scientific training of all teachers in agriculture. Or, if you approach the site from the city, one has only to walk straight out of the station down to Hamilton Street and he sees all the way the vista, terminating in a splendid block with a high-spanning arched entrance—this is Methodism's welcome.[23]

The growing self-awareness of the college led to the choice in 1912 of a motto, "Ut qui ministrat" or "As one who serves," taken from Luke 22:27, "No; the greatest among you must behave as if he were the youngest, the leader as if he were one who serves. For who is the greater: the one at table or the one who serves? The one at table, surely? Yet here am I among you as one who serves." The text, which had been used for the coronation sermon of King George V in 1911, aptly summed up the Regina College ideal of education for service. Just as the college as an institution served society, the individuals who passed through the college were trained to do the same. The motto was inscribed at the bottom of the college crest, designed by President Andrews with the help of Vincent Massey. The cross and the crescent at the top represented "the two great religions that believe in one God." The two crowns on the crest symbolised the British Empire; the wheat sheaf was a reminder of the economic strength of Saskatchewan. The official colours, selected by Miss Bollert, the lady dean, were chocolate brown, light blue and white.[24] Girls at football or hockey games wore long ribbons in the college colours in their hair. By 1914 they were shouting the college yell:

15, 40, 23
Regina College, who are we
Kiri, Pigskin, Sis, Boom, Bah;
Regina College! Rah! Rah! Rah![25]

The development of school spirit, the completion of the main building, and the diversification of course offerings all suggested that the college was doing well and making steady progress. A darker side to the picture began to emerge in 1912. The board of governors decided that Andrews lacked the qualities of a president and summarily got rid of him. F.N. Darke, D.J. Thom, and J.T. Brown gave the official explanation:

We recognize his Christian character as of the highest and further are of opinion that in the higher branches of learning of which he has made a specialty his scholarship is ripe and among advanced students should be of great value. Notwithstanding this, your Executive have as a result of our investigations and by reason of having been in intimate touch with Dr. Andrews for over a year in his administration as President of College affairs with regret arrived at the conclusion that he is not

qualified for the position of President of an institution of the nature of that which we are and propose to continue carrying on. . . .[26]

Andrews regarded the dismissal in March 1912 as a very serious blow to his professional reputation. In private, he bitterly denounced the board's action, calling it "an outrage without parallel in the educational history of Canada." He considered launching a $25,000 lawsuit for "violation of contract, defamation of character and professional injury," but refrained from doing so because of a reluctance to harm the college through bad publicity. Andrews felt the board failed to appreciate the seriousness of what they had done to him:

I do not think the men here think that anything very serious has happened to me. To me it is being struck down in mid career at a very critical time and I may or may not be able to recover myself. I hear that they think I am worth $40,000, when one tenth is near the truth. This made their action easier to them.[27]

The board of governors accused Andrews of being a poor teacher and an incompetent administrator, charges he angrily denied. He claimed the evidence against his teaching abilities came from "a couple of bemuddled scholars," and that he should have at least been able to finish the term before being condemned as a bad teacher. As for his alleged shortcomings in administration and his failure to play "the boss" strongly enough, Andrews believed his habit of listening to a wide variety of opinions before making a decision had been misconstrued as weakness: "These western men do not seem to understand that courtesy in administration." The fired president suspected treachery on the part of some members of the board, particularly Lieutenant Governor G.W. Brown, whom Andrews considered mentally deranged: "The Governor is almost a nervous wreck and many frankly say that he is a little troubled in the upper storey."

The board doubted that Andrews possessed the hard-driving, aggressive instincts needed in the president of a fledgling college. Significantly, within three months of Andrews's appointment, the board shifted control of all financial affairs from him to J.H. Oliver.[28] The college desperately needed money for survival. If the president could not handle this aspect of administration, he was not much use, regardless of what other good qualities he possessed. Nobody questioned Andrews's scholarly attainments or high ideals. Robert Milliken, the man chosen to replace the ousted president, called him:

one of the most saintly and spirited men I ever knew. . .he was an idealist of the idealists, an idealist in regard to money, and an idealist in the making of a new educational institution in a

new country. Because of this he was sometimes misunderstood and misjudged.[29]

The scholarly, high-minded Andrews did not get on well with the practical, hard-headed, self-made millionaires on the board of governors. They wanted a dynamic executive to fire up the city and province with enthusiasm for the college and bring in much-needed financial contributions. Andrews instead occupied his time spinning theories about "continuous session." This pet project involved cancelling the summer break so that classes were held throughout the whole year in four academic terms of equal duration. The board members were supremely unimpressed. They had been too clever by half in hiring Andrews in the first place. When the president of Mount Allison had advised them against the appointment, they had interpreted his words to mean the opposite. The canny Westerners, used to this kind of manoeuvring in their business deals, assumed the university president was just trying to hold on to his man, which made him all the more desirable for Regina College. Actually, the board of governors discovered too late that the Mount Allison president had been speaking the truth. After his humiliating dismissal, Andrews became a partner in a firm of consulting analytical chemists, Andrews and Cruikshank. They received a contract from the provincial government to study coal and clay deposits in the southern part of the province, and another to evaluate construction techniques for rural highways.[30] Andrews continued to reside in Regina until his death from cancer in 1922.

The board proceeded very carefully and deliberately in selecting a new president. In fact, the presidency was vacant for almost a year while they looked for the right man. The affairs of the college were, in the interim, in the hands of E.N. Davis, bursar, and E.R. Doxsee, dean of the academic faculty. Finally, on 1 March 1913, the Reverend Robert Milliken assumed office as the second president. He was born in northern Ireland in 1861 and emigrated to the United States in 1882, before moving to London, Ontario, in 1885. After working for some years with the YMCA, Milliken entered Wesleyan Methodist College in Montreal, graduating and receiving ordination in 1894. He spent much of his time in western Canada, serving successively in Prince Albert, Regina, Winnipeg, Brandon and Vancouver.[31] A former pastor of Metropolitan Methodist Church in Regina from 1900 to 1903, he was well-known and respected by members of the board of governors. Unlike Andrews, who grew up in Ontario and lived in New Brunswick, Milliken was thoroughly familiar with western conditions. While in Regina, he had organised a young men's club which met on Sunday afternoons above the Canada Book and Drug Store:

It was a class, not of the ordinary style of Bible class, but one that encouraged the most outspoken views and discussions. More

than one young man who found it difficult to harmonize Biblical statements with what his own intelligence taught, received new light on the subject which brought him nearer to the Church and prevented a slipping away into unbelief.[32]

The young men in his Bible class offered to contribute a portion of their salary to enable Milliken to do evangelical work among youth on a full-time basis. He declined the offer, but the fact of its having been made revealed Milliken's ability to gain the confidence and respect of young people.

Milliken shared with Andrews an affinity for the social gospel and felt the church had a duty to reach out to the working man. In an address in 1914 entitled "What the Organized Church Can Do For Organized Labour," Milliken argued against focusing too much on the life to come, rather than arousing the public conscience to an awareness of the oppression of labour.[33] The new president established a department of discussion and debate at the college and began collecting literature about trade unions, farmers' organisations, and social service organisations. He made the books and pamphlets available to readers interested in reform, those who were, in Milliken's words, "the very best and most progressive people of the country." The Department of Discussion and Debate offered to organise lectures, debates, and conferences for community groups working for political and social change.[34] Milliken clearly saw the college as a catalyst for the improvement of society, not an ivory tower standing aloof from the problems of the day.

The difference in outlook between Milliken, a progressive exponent of the social gospel, and the more conservative businessmen on the board of governors is suggested by a dialogue recorded in Milliken's memoirs. The college president and Methodist minister was tempted with a lucrative proposition by George W. Brown, the lawyer, financier, real estate promoter, backroom politician, and lieutenant governor:

Brown: You have never made anything out of these opportunities and 'boom' times through which you have passed?

Milliken: No, I have never speculated and never made a dollar.

Brown: Don't you think you have as good a right as anyone to reap some advantage?

Milliken: Maybe. But I have never felt like being mixed up in it.

Brown: I have just had word of a section of government land that is being vacated at Milestone. I will sell you scrip to cover it for one thousand dollars and I will send a man to put it on for you.

(The Indian halfbreeds had been complaining for a long time that they had not been treated fairly in the matter of land distribution, and the government had recently issued scrip to them that could be redeemed in land, as a belated acknowledgement and compensation. Unfortunately it did not do them much good. Mr. Brown had been speculating largely in this scrip. I [Milliken] thought for a moment and then said, 'I don't think I'll take it.' He was evidently annoyed.)

Brown: Remember I am not giving it to you.

(Mr. Brown never did give much away. He has to struggle too hard to get it to part with it lightly.)

Brown: I am selling it to you for what it cost me, and I am giving you all the time you need to pay for it. You can sell it next spring for over five dollars an acre. You can make three or four thousand dollars without turning your hand.

(Still I [Milliken] did not want it.)

Milliken: If I made that much so easily I would likely want to make as much more in the same way, I would be bothering the life out of you until you would say, 'I wish he would attend to his own work and not be so keen after the dollar.'

(I could see he was both disappointed and angry. 'Well, have it your own way. I think you are a fool,' and he stamped out of the house without even saying 'good-night.' By the way that section sold some years after for one hundred and five dollars an acre.)[35]

Despite Milliken's scruples and social gospel leanings, he worked harmoniously with the board and might have been a successful president, if the recession of 1913 had not precipitated a financial crisis. The seriousness of the economic slowdown may be gauged from the decline in the value of building permits in Regina from $8,047,309 in 1912 to $5,745,940 in 1913. The city's population dropped from thirty thousand in 1911 to about twenty-six thousand in 1916.[36] The board of governors revised drastically its building plans for the college. After the opening of the main building in 1912, the intention had been to build two towers, one on the west side and the other on the east side of the main structure, at an estimated cost of $80,000. An additional $100,000 would be spent for a residence to accommodate one hundred boys. The architect, J.H. Puntin, drew up the plans and tenders were put out in March 1913.[37] The

board approached the Edinburgh Life Insurance Company for a loan of $225,000 at 6 percent, but were turned down. An appeal to Sir Robert William Perks, a wealthy English Methodist, met the same response.[38]

The altered economic conditions of 1913 caused the plans for the two towers and the boys' dormitory to be shelved, but there was still hope from another quarter. The Massey family had promised $100,000 towards the building of a ladies' college. The college wrote Vincent Massey in August 1913 asking when the money could be expected. A reply came in November with the information that the grant would be paid during 1914 in quarterly instalments.[39] The board sent a group of representatives to Toronto to confer with Massey and perhaps persuade him to make the gift somewhat larger. The delegation consisted of Miss Bollert, the lady dean, and Justice J.T. Brown, who were joined by the Reverend J.H. Oliver, now a resident of Toronto. A Regina newspaper mentioned a figure of $200,000 to be given by the Masseys for a building large enough to accommodate an art and music department, a household science department, and girls' dormitories.[40] If this was what Bollert, Brown and Oliver were after, they failed. Vincent Massey stuck to the figure of $100,000, the first instalment to be paid 1 March 1914.[41]

On the strength of this pledge, the board of governors called for tenders for both the girls' dormitory and the two towers. R.J. Lecky and Company had the low bid at $33,900 for the east tower and $113,900 for the west tower and girls' residence. The board decided to go ahead with the west tower and the residence, but to defer the east tower until financial circumstances improved. The east tower was never built, accounting for the asymmetrical appearance of the building to this day. The college negotiated with the Sun Life Assurance Company for a $125,000 loan at 7 percent per annum to finance the new buildings. The company inquired whether members of the board of governors would consider themselves personally liable if the college failed to repay the debt. In response, the board passed a motion resolving

> *that the members of the Executive and as many other members of the Board as would be likely to consent, be asked to give their personal guarantees in such amounts as would be agreed upon, on the understanding that the proposed mortgage undertake to exhaust the real estate security before proceeding against the sureties.*[42]

Despite this self-sacrificing gesture the Sun Life deal fell through, and no mortgage was obtained.

The 1913 depression played havoc with the building plans of the college, but worse was still to come. The outbreak of World War I in

August 1914 disturbed and unsettled the financial markets to the point where borrowing was out of the question. The Massey estate informed the college that payments of the instalments of the $100,000 would cease until further notice, causing all construction activity to come to a complete halt.[43] The piles of abandoned building materials and the half-completed structures spoke eloquently of the financial uncertainty caused by the war.

World War I affected the college in other ways, too. As the boys went off to fight, the ratio of girls to boys changed markedly. In 1915, there were 148 male students and 182 girls, compared with 185 boys and 405 girls in 1918.[44] Altogether, 128 students, 4 teachers, and 3 members of the board of governors enlisted; 12 students were killed. Patriotic enthusiasm was fanned by such practices as compulsory military drill, the reading at chapel service of letters from boys at the front, and the holding of recruitment rallies. At an evening meeting held in Metropolitan Methodist Church on 11 February 1917 Lieutenant-Colonel C.B. Keenleyside, a member of the board of governors, challenged the boys:

> *Some of you fellows will have pretty poor excuse to offer for not being in khaki when the war is over... There's a uniform to fit every man down at Earl Grey barracks, all the clothing you need, a rifle, and everything that goes with it—we give you an invitation to come down and see us.*[45]

The college presented each recruit with a gold watch and cheered him on his way. Boys who signed up before the end of the academic year received automatic credit for the full year's work and promotion to the next grade. Ruth (Willsey) Wilkinson, a student at Regina College from 1914 to 1916, said good-bye to her boyfriend, who came back to the college in his uniform the day before his departure for France. He was wounded in battle and died in hospital. Seventy years later, Mrs. Wilkinson still attends Regina College, taking classes through the seniors' extension program of the University of Regina. Every time she walks into the building she is reminded of the spot where she last saw her boyfriend.[46]

The students were told the war had to be fought to uphold the principles of freedom and democracy represented by the British Empire. The college set as the theme for an essay-writing competition in 1916 the quotation: "We must be free or die who speak the tongue that Shakespeare spake, the faith and morals hold, that Milton held." The winning essay was read in its entirety at the commencement exercises that year. The girls conscientiously rolled bandages and knit socks for the Red Cross (704 hospital pads, 542 rolls of bandages, 272 personal property bags, 51 pairs of socks, and 75 Christmas parcels in 1917-18.)[47] The boys' debating society approved a resolution to close down all moving picture shows,

pool rooms, confectionary stores and dance halls until the end of the war. The patriotic fervour justified the statement in the annual report of 1917 to the effect that the college shared proudly "in the great struggle for freedom which is going on in the world today."[48]

The mounting number of wounded and dead could not help but dampen some of this enthusiasm. In 1920 a bronze memorial tablet was unveiled honouring the war service of students, faculty and board members. The main speaker, Chancellor Bowles of Victoria University, seemed almost to be protesting too much in asserting how worthwhile the war had been:

> *But it [the war] was not a struggle of commercial rivalries. Nor was it a welter of blind instinct and passion. No biological law of struggle and survival compasses its meaning. Nor was it a convulsive upheaval of mysterious forces, such as cause the volcano to belch forth its destruction. It was on the one side, and in the person of its leaders, a willful and deliberate assault on the rights and liberties of men and it was made possible by the wicked teaching that might is right and the state is unmoral. On the other side, it was a testimony valuable because of its costliness to the worth of liberty and the inviolability of right and justice. And it was a declaration written in blood of the essential and imperishable humanity of our race. . . .*[49]

Mrs. C.W. Rogers, mother of one of the dead students, pulled away the Union Jack covering the memorial tablet. The crowd filed out to the strains of the "Dead March" from *Saul*.

No one could have predicted, at the time the war broke out, the full measure of its impact. The most immediate effects on the college were financial, especially the decision by the Masseys to cut off the capital funding, thereby bringing building activity to a stop. However, the financial shortfall was not confined to the capital account. Heavy losses were also showing up in the current account, that is, ordinary, day-to-day expenditures consistently exceeded revenue. The following deficits had appeared on current account, since the opening of the college:

Sept 1911 - June 1912	*$ 2,296.22*
July 1912 - June 1913	*11,592.82*
July 1913 - June 1914	*17,620.80*
July 1914 - June 1915	*15,800.84*[50]

Various cost-saving measures were introduced: the reduction of caretaking and dining room services, cutbacks in the purchase of supplies and in the use of fuel, light, and water, and disconnecting of some telephones. Even the boiler insurance was cancelled for one year. The office stenographer,

who had been paid a salary of $75 a month, was replaced with less expensive help. The position of bursar was combined with that of financial field secretary (essentially a fund-raising officer) so that one person did the work formerly done by two.[51]

A round of salary cuts began. The president's salary decreased from $4,000 to $3,550 per year and that of the bursar from $2,400 to $1,800. The salary of the academic dean fell from $2,300 to $2,000, while junior faculty experienced cuts from $925 with board and room to $750 with board and room. Each member of the music faculty was informed that instead of receiving a flat salary, he would be entitled to two-thirds of the fees he brought in. The conservatory would guarantee each teacher a minimum salary which was scaled down significantly from previous salary levels. The letter from the board of governors announcing the change sounded half apologetic: "We submit this to you well aware that legally it may not be quite correct but feeling that we are doing better by our staff in offering something than in continuing to promise salaries which we assuredly will not be able to pay."[52] The economy drive extended beyond salary reductions to staff dismissals. President Milliken, towards the end of 1914, advised dispensing with two of the four members of the business department and one member of the academic department. The position of bursar, which had earlier been amalgamated with that of the financial field secretary, was abolished and the bursar's functions absorbed into the general office.[53]

The cutbacks were accompanied by stratagems to increase revenue. The college offered night classes to junior matriculation students who worked at jobs during the day. The teachers earned $3.00 per night, the balance of the tuition fees going directly into the college coffers. When the class was too small to pay the operating costs, the instructor's salary was reduced accordingly.[54] In another attempt to secure funds, the finance committee of the board of governors prepared a list of fifty people, each of whom was asked to contribute $100. The results were disappointing, when only a few donations trickled in. The board began to put pressure on contributors who had previously given subscription notes, but had not kept up the payments. Friends and supporters of the college had discovered that promises made in 1910 or 1911 were no longer realistic in the light of depressed economic conditions. One hard-pressed subscriber protested that he simply could not pay and that legal action by the college to collect the money would precipitate his ruin. Since blood could not be squeezed from a stone, the college had to write off some of the debt. As for the subscribers who were still solvent, they were offered a discount of 7 percent per annum on the face value of their notes, provided the full amount were paid in advance of the due date.[55]

At the same time as the college appealed to supporters to honour their subscription notes, the college's creditors were demanding payment of bills owed them. In October 1913 the treasurer issued promissory notes payable in three months and bearing an interest rate of 6 percent per annum to a number of companies, including Gowans, Kent and Co. (for crockery, glass and silverware), $943.30; Globe Furniture Co. (for desks), $307.69; Mason and Risch Piano Co. (for pianos), $1,400.00; and R. Simpson and Co. (for furniture, carpets, blinds, and draperies), $1,632.00.[56] The financial situation had reached such a pass by December 1913 that an emergency meeting of the board of governors authorized a thirty-day loan of $6,000 from the Imperial Bank. This was one of many occasions when members of the executive put their personal credit on the line by giving the bank a promissory note.[57] The arrival of $25,000, the first instalment of the Massey grant, on 1 March 1914 provided a temporary reprieve. The money was used as collateral to borrow $43,000 for the payment of bills and salaries in arrears. Although the Massey money was capital funding and duly deposited in the capital account, repeated transfers were made from the capital to the current account to meet pressing exigencies.[58]

When the president and the board of governors surveyed the situation at the beginning of the 1914 fall term, they had reason for despair. Not only had the operating deficit for the preceding year exceeded $17,000, but also the capital debts were enormous: $46,000 to the government of Saskatchewan for the college property; $23,000 to the contractors for the main building; $31,000 for the girls' residence, and $86,000 to the Imperial Bank.[59] Subscribers, feeling the pinch of the 1913 depression, defaulted on their promised contributions. The only source of hope had been the regular quarterly instalments of $25,000 from the Massey estate. When this disappeared, at the outbreak of the war, the board of governors considered the possibility of closing the college. A committee was appointed on 1 September 1914 "to review the situation of the college as to operating for the ensuing year."[60]

The college somehow managed to soldier through another academic year, but in March 1915 the board of governors placed the full gravity of the situation before the general superintendent of the Methodist church:

> *At an Executive meeting of the Board of Governors of Regina College held on Thursday last, it was decided that owing to the extremely precarious financial position of the College at the present time, which is such that unless relief is speedily obtained the College will simply have to go out of business, we would call on you for some assistance you may possibly be able to render in certain matters thereby avoiding, we hope, what would no doubt be considered by all concerned a very great disaster to the name of Methodism throughout the country.*[61]

President Milliken, appointed in March 1913, decided in March 1915 that the problems were too much for him. He cited three reasons for his resignation: "that he was not a canvasser for money and could not go around the country and raise money, that he could not act as a bond of sympathy between the College and the Conference, and that he could not furnish the students of the College the paternal care which was required."[62] The first was probably the main reason. If the money problems had been solved, other irritations might have been more easily remedied. The board of governors made no serious effort to persuade Milliken to stay, but the leave-taking had none of the bitterness of Andrews's dismissal. Milliken found other employment as the minister of Metropolitan Methodist Church.

The departing president left the college in complete disarray. Financial ruin was imminent, and a series of firings and resignations decimated the staff. The board of governors, in their zeal to cut expenses, informed Dr. Hodgson, the director of the conservatory, that from 1915 onward the conservatory would be placed on "a strictly paying basis." When Dr. Hodgson objected, he was promptly given his walking papers.[63] Miss Bollert, the women's dean, who had been with the college since it opened in 1911, was also pushed out. She was at a loss to understand why:

> *I have been informed that the Board will wish to know my plans for the coming year. I am somewhat at a loss to know the reason for this, but I may say briefly, that while the progress of the college has been a disappointment, I am still willing to give my services fully to further its interests as I have during the past four years. . . . I gave up too much to undertake the work here to make me choose voluntarily to lay down the task while the possibility of achievement remains.*[64]

Whatever the circumstances of Miss Bollert's departure, the college lost a valuable faculty member. She later served as the first dean of women at the University of British Columbia, where a hall has been named in her memory. A mass exodus of teachers followed Miss Bollert: Stephen Parry in mathematics; Fred W. Bates in physics and agriculture; C.E. Walker, head of the business department; Miss Freda Harold, instructor in modern languages; and Douglas Durkin, bursar. Durkin subsequently achieved modest fame as the author of *The Magpie*, a novel about postwar unrest in Winnipeg.[65]

People, both inside the province and elsewhere, began to wonder what was going on at Regina College. The general superintendent of the Methodist church, with barely concealed anxiety, wrote the board of governors:

> *Newspaper reports would seem to indicate that there was considerable disintegration in connection with the Staff of Regina*

College at present. I discounted the report as soon as I read it. At the same time I would like to know the actual state of affairs.[66]

The superintendent's concerns were shared by the provincial conference of the church, which set up a committee of inquiry, consisting of five representatives from the college board of governors and five from the conference. The chairman was the Reverend E.J. Chegwin, at one time a financial officer of the college. The committee's report, presented to the annual meeting of the conference in June 1915, dealt with the issue of the college's survival. In view of the mountainous capital debt and the chronic operating losses, was the institution viable? The conference weighed the pros and cons and ruled in the affirmative. The educational work and the contribution to the life of the church justified finding some way to keep the college in operation.

The board of governors incurred some stringent criticism for their style of management. The Reverend Mr. Chegwin sparked a discussion at the conference meetings by claiming the problems of the college did not lie primarily in the financial realm. The real weakness stemmed from the failure of the board to take into account the "human element." This view gained support from the Reverend Hugh Dobson, a former faculty member, who charged that relations between board and faculty were too much like the relations between employer and employee. The Reverend Ernest Thomas chimed in, accusing the board members of running the college as though they were running a factory; he called for the "frank abandonment of the joint stock point of view."[67] These criticisms had some justification. The deterioration of staff morale suggested strongly that the practical businessmen on the board may not have appreciated fully the subtle differences between an academic institution and their own business organisations. On the other hand, the critics underestimated the difficulties involved in running a college without a stable financial base. The board of governors had blundered in the hiring and firing of Andrews and in alienating the faculty, but managing a college without any money was not easy.

The college in 1915 had reached a turning point. The president of the Saskatchewan Methodist Conference and the chairman of the college board of governors drafted a statement summarising the situation. The document admitted that mistakes had been made "in dealing both with persons and things," but the time had come to put away the past and plan for the future. Although the college had $80,000 in overdue subscription notes and only the remnants of a faculty, a new president, E.W. Stapleford, had just been appointed. The loss of the faculty, except for "one or two indispensable stalwarts like Professor Doxsee," at least gave the new president a chance to rebuild and give the college a fresh start.[68]

The position of Regina College in the fall of 1915 resembled its position in the fall of 1911. The institution was still more an idea and a hope than a concrete fact. Although students had been trooping into classes for four years, the doors could be shut at any moment and the place closed down. The recession of 1913 and the economic confusion surrounding World War I had nearly wrecked the institution. The contractors for the main building were still unpaid, the construction of the tower and girls' residence suspended indefinitely. The challenge of establishing the college on a firm foundation had defeated two presidents. Whether the third president would fare any better depended principally on two things: the raising of sufficient money and the recruitment of a dedicated staff. The moral support given to the college by the Saskatchewan Methodist Conference at the lowest point in the 1915 crisis proved the existence of good will. What was needed was a leader to take charge, rally support, and inspire belief in Regina College. Fortunately, he had just arrived.

NOTES

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2 Ibid., 29 March 1913; 14 March 1914.
3 URA, secretary's correspondence, president's report, 25 March 1913.
4 URA, report of dean of academic department to senate, 1917-18.
5 Ibid., 1926-27.
6 URA, *Regina College Calendar*, 1913-14.
7 URA, *Regina College Register*, 1925-26.
8 URA, *Regina College Calendar*, 1913-14.
9 URA, *Regina College Register*, 1925-26.
10 URA, *Regina College Calendar*, 1913-14.
11 Regina *Leader*, 1 and 8 November 1913, 1 November 1919, 13 March 1920.
12 URA, *Regina College Register*, January, 1914.
13 Michael Hayden, *Seeking a Balance*, 48.
14 Regina *Leader*, 6 July 1911.
15 Ibid.
16 URA, *Regina College Register*, March 1923.
17 URA, *Regina College Calendar*, 1912-13.
18 URA, secretary's correspondence, capital account to December 1912.
19 URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 16 July 1912.
20 URA, *Tenth Anniversary Announcement and Year Book*, 1911-21, 17.
21 Regina *Leader*, 15 October 1912.
22 Regina *Leader*, 11 March and 30 November 1911, 15 October 1912; URA, *Regina College Calendar*, 1912-13.
23 Regina *Leader*, 28 October 1911, reprint from *Christian Guardian*.
24 After affiliation with the University of Saskatchewan in 1925, the official colours were changed to green and gold. URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 14 March 1912; URA, *Regina College Register*, December 1923.
25 URA, *Regina College Register*, January, 1914.
26 URA, secretary's correspondence, report re: Dr. Andrews, 14 March 1912.
27 United Church of Canada Archives, [hereafter cited as UCCA], Biographical files, W.W. Andrews, Andrews to Mr. Allen, 13 May 1912.
28 URA, secretary's correspondence, report to board of governors, 4 March 1911.
29 UCCA, Robert Milliken, personal papers, "Jottings from a Methodist Itinerant Cleric's Notebook."
30 Regina *Leader*, 4 September 1912.
31 UCCA, Biographical files, Reverend Robert Milliken.
32 Regina *Leader*, 24 January 1913.
33 Ibid., 9 March 1914.

34 URA, *Regina College Calendar*, 1914-15.
35 UCCA, Robert Milliken, personal papers, "Jottings from a Methodist Itinerant Cleric's Notebook."
36 Rod Laporte, "The Development of Parks in Regina," 153-54.
37 URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 17 February 1913.
38 Ibid., 12 March 1913.
39 Ibid., 8 February 1912, 21 August 1913, 20 November 1913.
40 Regina *Leader*, 13 June 1911.
41 URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 19 February 1914.
42 Ibid., 23 June 1914.
43 Ibid., 1 September 1914.
44 Regina *Leader*, 11 June 1915, 7 June 1918.
45 Ibid., 12 February 1917.
46 Ruth (Willsey) Wilkinson interview, 27 May 1986.
47 Regina *Leader*, 17 June 1916, 18 February 1918; URA, report of dean of women's residence to senate, 1918.
48 Regina *Leader*, 6 June 1917.
49 Ibid., 23 March 1920.
50 URA, secretary's correspondence, files 3 and 4.
51 URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 16 October 1913, 8 January 1914.
52 URA, secretary's correspondence, D.J. Thom to J.E. Hodgson, 8 September 1914
53 URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 14 January 1915.
54 Ibid. The night school was discontinued in 1916. Regina *Leader*, 2 December 1916.
55 URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 25 September 1913, 20 November 1914.
56 Ibid., 16 October 1913.
57 Ibid., 16 December 1913.
58 Ibid., 19 February and 10 March 1914.
59 URA, secretary's correspondence, file 4.
60 URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 1 September 1914.
61 URA, secretary's correspondence, D.J. Thom to S.D. Chown, 9 March 1915.
62 Ibid., D.J. Thom to S.D. Chown, 12 April 1915.
63 URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 14 January 1915.
64 URA, secretary's correspondence, M.L. Bollert to D.J. Thom, 22 April 1915.
65 URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 13 and 22 April, 13 May and 3 June 1915.
66 URA, secretary's correspondence, S.D. Chown to D.J. Thom, 1 May 1915.
67 Regina *Leader*, 15 June 1915.
68 Ibid., 21 August 1915.

THREE

THE GOLDEN YEARS

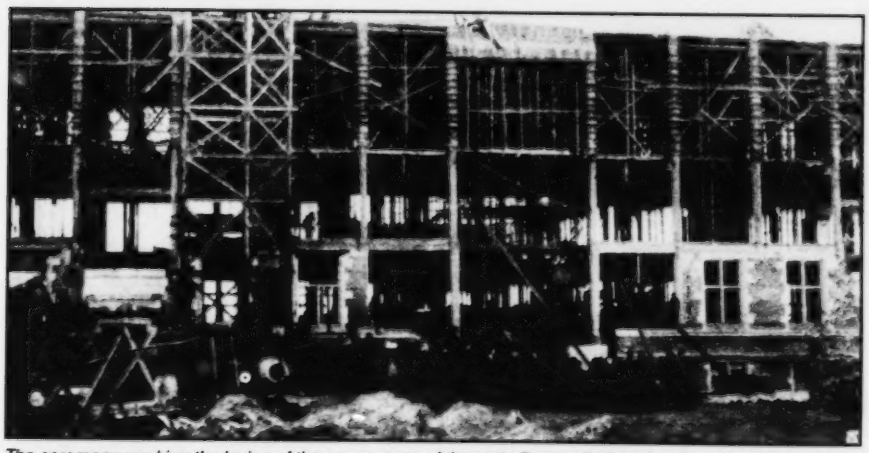
"...he was the man who really made Regina College."

When the Reverend Ernest William Stapleford assumed the presidency on 1 July 1915, the affairs of Regina College were in a shambles. The college teetered on the edge of bankruptcy; those members of the staff who had not resigned or been dismissed were demoralized. President Stapleford saved the college and placed it firmly on the road to success. Without his leadership Regina College, rather than entering its golden years, might have had a short and troubled existence. Stapleford solved the financial crisis, recruited and maintained an excellent faculty, oversaw the completion of the girls' residence and the construction of the central heating plant, the gymnasium, and Darke Hall. To a significant extent, Stapleford was Regina College. He threw himself into the job with obvious enthusiasm and total commitment. After his retirement, he described the time he and his wife had spent at Regina College as "the best twenty-two years of our lives."

E.W. Stapleford was born in St. Catharines, Ontario, in 1874. He grew up in a Methodist household and, in due course, resolved to become a minister in the Methodist church. In 1900 he enrolled in the arts course at Victoria College in Toronto. During the summer he found work as a pastor in the rough British Columbia mining town of Ymir. The next summer, following his second year of university study, Stapleford embarked on a more daring adventure—he boarded a cattle boat for England. Having little money, he accepted a job as a salesman of "stereoscopic viewers" and sets of slides that depicted famous scenes and buildings from a variety of countries. The slides had some educational value and gave the illusion of a three-dimensional picture when seen through the viewer. Stapleford proved enormously successful at selling these items. He made enough money to cover his own expenses and to assist a friend who lacked a flair for salesmanship. The future Regina College president had a great ability for communicating enthusiasm to others and persuading them to part with their cash. This gift later enabled him to pry donations from reluctant contributors in order to keep the college afloat.

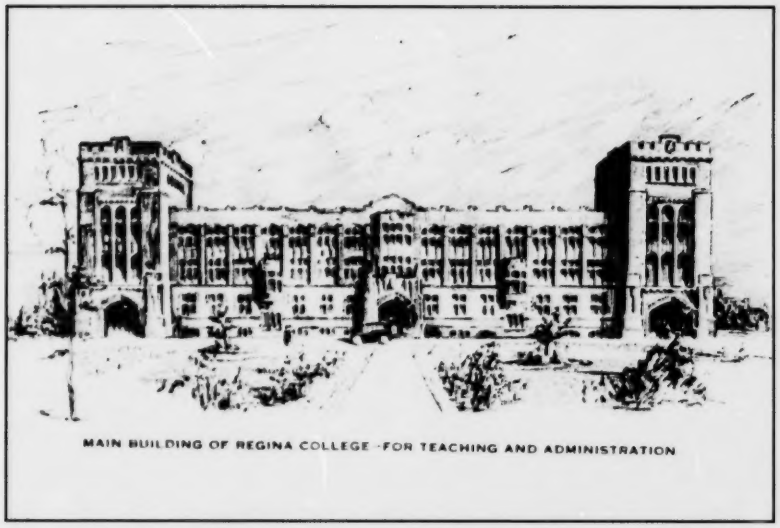
Stapleford returned to England in the summer of 1903 to sell more stereoscopic viewers. He saved enough money to take an extensive tour all through continental Europe, Egypt and the Holy Land. Although he

The old hospital building on Hamilton Street where the first classes were held in 1911-12, pending the completion of the college building in the fall of 1912. (Saskatchewan Archives Board R.B386)

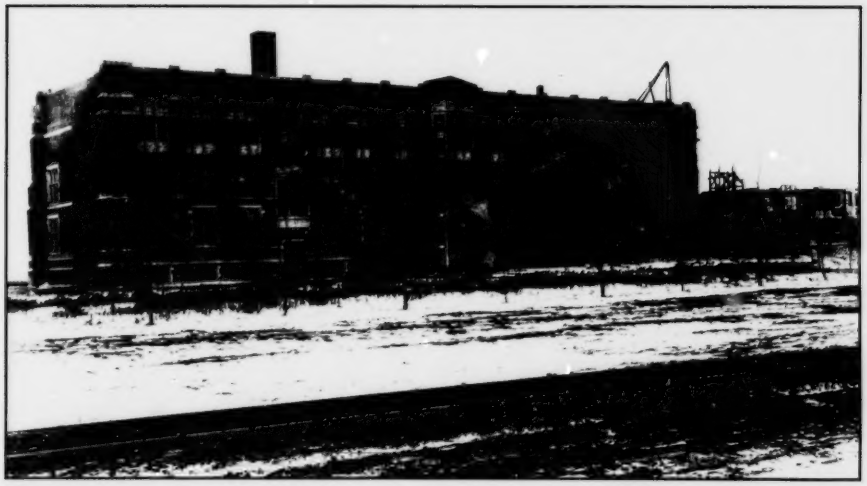


The ceremony marking the laying of the cornerstone of the main Regina College building, 25 October 1911.

The formal opening of Regina College, 14 October 1912, by the Duke of Connaught, Governor General of Canada. He is accompanied by the Duchess (behind the fern), and Princess Patricia. The man reading the address is D.J. Thom, secretary of the board of governors.

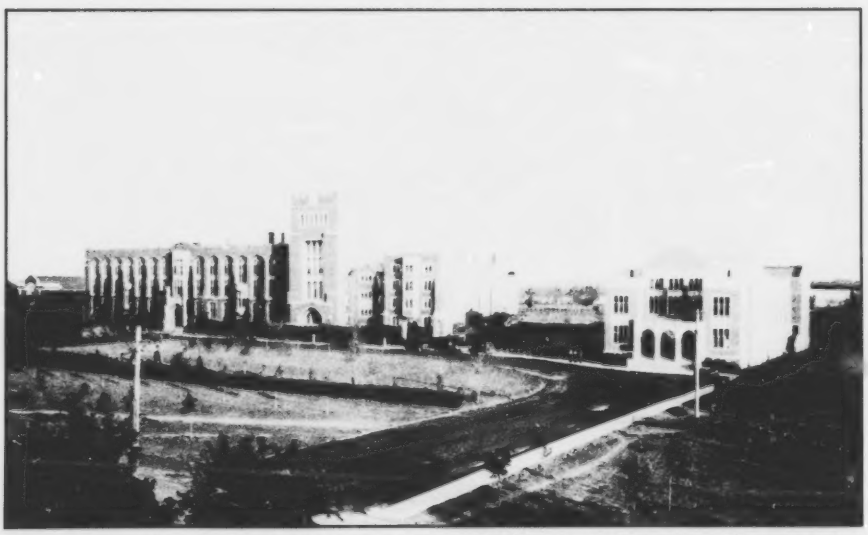


The original design called for two towers, one on either side of the main college building. Because of a shortage of funds the tower on the left (east) side was not built.



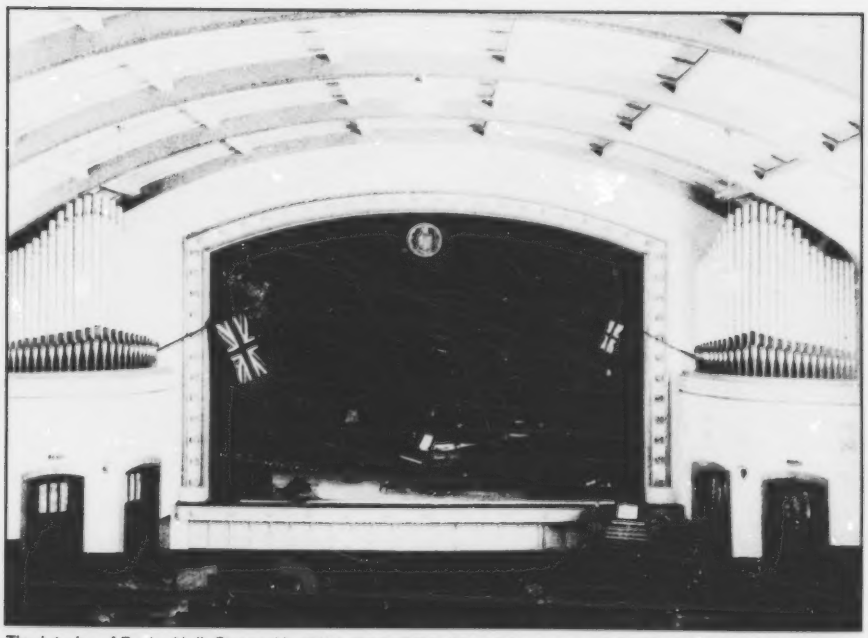
The west tower and the girls' residence under construction. Building activity had to be suspended in 1914 because of a lack of funds. (Saskatchewan Archives Board R.B9567(1))

The view from the south windows of the college in 1923.



The north view of the campus in 1930, showing Darke Hall on the right (west), and the gymnasium on the left (east) of the main building.

Pianos being transported to the Regina College Conservatory of Music about 1912-13.



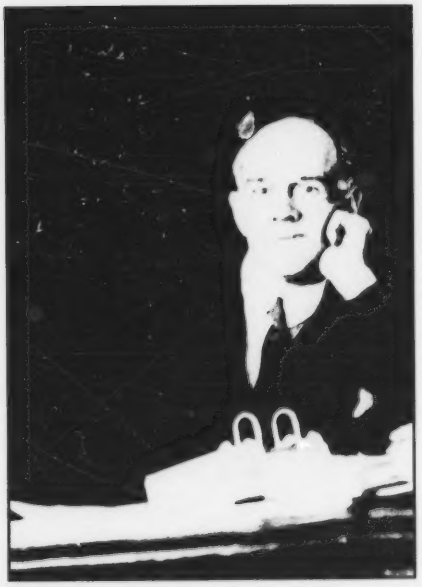
The interior of Darke Hall. Opened in 1929, the building for music and art was a gift of Regina businessman Francis N. Darke.

Walter Scott (right) was premier of Saskatchewan 1905-16. He initially feared Regina College would compete unduly with the University of Saskatchewan, but later changed his mind. Lieutenant Governor George W. Brown (left) was first chairman of the board of governors of the college and a principal financial backer. (Saskatchewan Archives Board R.A6018)

The Reverend Robert Milliken, B.D., D.D. (left), was president of Regina College 1913-15. Though possessing many good qualities, Milliken seemed incapable of grappling with the financial problems besetting the college. The Reverend Wilbur William Andrews, M.A., LL.D. (right) was president of Regina College 1911-12. A scholarly, high-minded man, Andrews was administratively inept and was dismissed after one year in office.

The Reverend Ernest William Stapleford, B.A., D.D., president (1915-34) and principal (1934-37) of Regina College. More than any other individual, Dr. Stapleford was responsible for the success of the college.

Maude Bunting Stapleford. As wife of the president, Mrs. Stapleford did much to build support for Regina College in the community. (Saskatchewan Archives Board R.A17,103)



Dan A. Cameron (above left) was appointed teacher of voice at the Regina College Conservatory of Music in 1923, and remained connected with the Conservatory until 1963. He was also known for his wide-ranging intellectual interests, vigorous opinions, and strong-smelling cigars.

W. Knight Wilson (left) was teacher of violin and head of the strings department, Regina College Conservatory of Music, 1923-55.

The Reverend E.R. Doxsee, B.A., B.D., (above right), professor of classics from 1911 to 1932, was "possibly the embodiment of what was best in the spirit of Regina College."

and a companion travelled on a shoestring budget, they never missed an opportunity to take in new sights and experiences. In Ireland they stopped at Blarney Castle and talked with a woman who had worked there for thirty years. Stapleford remarked that she looked too young to have been there so long. "I'm an ould woman, sorr," she replied, "and I see sorr, that the stone is beginning to work on ye already."

Back home at Victoria College, Stapleford became acquainted with a student named Maude Bunting. They married in 1907 and settled in Vancouver where the newly ordained minister occupied the pulpit of Sixth Avenue Methodist Church. He took an interest in Columbia College, the Methodist college in New Westminster, and in educational matters in general. His involvement deepened when, in 1911, he was appointed educational secretary of the Methodist church for British Columbia.[1]

Regina College and E.W. Stapleford may have been brought together through the good offices of the Reverend S.D. Chown, the general superintendent of the Methodist church in Canada. Chown's concern about the difficulties that threatened to overwhelm the college led him to recommend Stapleford as the man capable of bringing order out of chaos.[2] The college owed the grand sum of $199,353 on capital account: $85,636 to the Imperial Bank; $45,810 to the government of Saskatchewan for the college property; $30,641 to the contractors for the new buildings; $22,869.52 in bills payable for buildings and furnishings, and sundry lesser debts. In addition to the heavy debt load for capital expenditures, the college lost $15,800 on current account in the period from 1 July 1914 to 30 June 1915. Stapleford had inherited a financial mess. A few weeks before he officially took over, members of the board of governors had to give the bank personal notes as security for a loan of $6,000, which was urgently needed to pay salaries. D.J. Thom, the long-serving secretary, frankly admitted that without speedy financial relief, the college would go under.[3]

Stapleford wasted no time in dealing with the financial crisis. He launched an energetic fund-raising campaign, not only in Saskatchewan, but also in Eastern Canada and the United States. He reported in January 1916 the fruits of his efforts: $5,000 from the railroader J.J. Hill of St. Paul, Minnesota; $500 from C.D. Massey of Toronto; and $500 from the T. Eaton Company. A second trip in the spring of 1916 to Chicago, Toronto, Hamilton and New York resulted in $2,705 in cash and promises of an additional $1,550.[4] The board of governors were highly impressed, particularly in light of the fact that neither Andrews nor Milliken had been able to produce, as if by magic, thousands of dollars from distant philanthropists. Whatever pitch Stapleford used with potential benefactors, the results spoke for themselves. The new president seemed to be working miracles as he carried out his financial rescue operation. He made a habit

in subsequent years of visiting the head offices of banks, insurance companies, farm machinery manufacturers, and other corporations with headquarters in the east doing business in western Canada. His yearly trip to Ontario invariably proved worthwhile, at least until the 1930s depression dried up the sources of philanthropy.

Stapleford could not be accused of tilling the far fields while neglecting the near furrows. He preached in a different Saskatchewan town almost every Sunday, usually staying over on Monday to make calls on potential subscribers and on Methodist families with children old enough to attend Regina College. In the evening he sometimes lectured on a topic of general interest such as travel or current events. In this way he reached the non-Methodists in the district. These excursions into rural Saskatchewan could be profitable both in raising funds and recruiting students. Stapleford collected $3,200 in Fillmore and Osage in one day, $3,710 in Avonlea, and $3,500 from a farmer in Grand Coulee. His zeal in attracting students to Regina College was legendary. One day in 1918 he called on a south country farmer, who said he would be glad to donate $500 to the college, except that he had no children. "Why don't you adopt one?" asked Dr. Stapleford. "Well," answered the farmer, "we had thought of that, but—" "Tell you what I'll do," Stapleford said, "you give me $500 for the college and I'll get you a baby, on the condition that when it grows up it will attend the college." The farmer marched into the house, told his wife of the offer, and signed a cheque for $500. Mrs. Stapleford, through her connections with babies' welfare work, arranged an adoption for the farmer and his wife. In 1937 the couple came to Regina College with a robust girl, about eighteen years old. All they said was, "Here's Ella."[5]

Stapleford inaugurated in the fall of 1916 the annual canvass of the city of Regina. Regina, as the home of the college, had the greatest obligation to support it. The week-long canvass began with an elaborate stag banquet to which were invited about 150 of the leading business and professional men. The dinners were blue-ribbon affairs that drew an elite crowd. For example, gracing the head table at the October 1917 banquet were Justice J.T. Brown, Premier W.M. Martin, and President W.C. Murray of the University of Saskatchewan. Justice Brown paid tribute to the sterling leadership provided by President Stapleford. Premier Martin, the featured speaker of the evening, addressed the audience on an issue of topical interest, the efforts of the League for Better Schools to overcome the main educational problems facing Saskatchewan—low rates of school attendance, the shortage of teachers, and the non-permanency of the teaching profession. President Murray then spoke briefly, supporting the endeavours of Regina College and singling out for special mention the fine work being done in music and art. Finally, President Stapleford

concluded the speeches with a short pep talk. He emphasized, as he had on many other occasions, the advantages accruing to businesses from the existence of Regina College. The college spent $80,000 a year in the city, exclusive of the amounts spent by the students and their friends. The banquet cemented the relationship between town and gown and served as an excellent kick-off for the fund-raising appeal. Stapleford selected prominent citizens to act as divisional captains in the drive. They met daily at lunch time during the week of the canvass at the Assiniboia Club or one of the hotels to report what they had collected and to keep up the enthusiasm. Through these well-orchestrated efforts, the college raised about $8,000 annually.[6]

The format of the autumn campaign changed slightly in 1923. Rather than opening with a banquet, the appeal started with a free public concert given by members of the faculty of the Conservatory of Music. The complimentary recital became a popular event and a highlight of Regina's musical season. Hundreds of peopled packed Metropolitan Methodist Church (after 1925, Metropolitan United Church) to hear Cyril Hampshire, W. Knight Wilson, Dan Cameron, Madame Alicia Birkett, and other conservatory luminaries. Those unable to attend could hear the program broadcast on CKCK radio. Stapleford availed himself of the intermission to extol the educational work being done by the college and to ask for donations.[7]

The president, in his ceaseless promotion of the college, could always count on strong endorsement from the Regina newspapers. Editorials praised the college and urged readers to give generously: "The College which bears the name of this city and which fills an educational need not otherwise provided for in the southern part of the province has from the beginning had an excellent reputation among educators."[8] The *Leader* supported the college in the usual civic booster spirit, but also with an awareness of the value of education for its own sake. The college, according to one editorial, introduced farm boys and girls to the finer things of life so that they might find "the divine in any calling they may follow by 'giving to barrows, pots and pans gleam and glimmer of romance.'"[9]

By mobilising the community behind Regina College, Stapleford restored faith in the institution. He also nurtured the ties between the school and the Methodist church. A summer school, held every year after 1917, brought ministers and their families to live in the Regina College residence. While wives and children enjoyed a vacation, the clergy attended lectures by specially invited scholars. Thus the college was perceived to be giving direct service to the church by providing ministers with intellectual stimulation and spiritual renewal. Stapleford lobbied for an annual subvention from the educational fund of the General Conference of the

Methodist church. The request met with a favourable response in 1919, when the college received $1,500 and the promise of an additional $5,000 the following year. Grants of various amounts continued to be awarded so that by 1933, the year Regina College broke its connection with the United Church, a total of $66,000 had been received.[10] In 1919 the Methodist church launched a national fund-raising appeal called the Forward Movement Campaign. Stapleford, the campaign chairman for Saskatchewan, deserved a large share of the credit for the success of the drive. Consequently, when the proceeds were allocated, Regina College secured a grant of $150,000.[11] Stapleford's strategy of maintaining strong links between the church and the college paid off handsomely.

Stapleford's money-raising abilities delighted the board of governors. They regarded him as a remarkably good businessman, worth as much to them as President Murray was worth to the University of Saskatchewan. Consequently, they measured Stapleford's salary not with that of the principals of other Methodist schools, but with that of President Murray. The Regina College president's starting salary in 1914 had been $2,000 plus room and board for himself and his family. After several increases and special bonuses, his salary in 1920 reached $6,000, not including living expenses.[12] Another kind of recognition for his achievements came from his alma mater. Victoria College bestowed on him in 1918 the honourary degree of Doctor of Divinity. Robert Milliken, who had been president of Regina College from 1913 to 1915, noted in his memoirs that Stapleford could easily have been the successful head of a large corporation or financial institution. In Milliken's view, Stapleford was the man "who really made Regina College."[13]

One of the keys to Stapleford's success was his ability to make contacts with many influential people in the community. He became a member of the Board of Trade, he was a charter member of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, president of the Canadian Club, president of the League of Nations Society, a member of the YMCA board, a staunch supporter of the Community Chest, a charter member of Emulation Masonic Lodge, president of the Prisoners' Aid Association, president of the Council of Social Agencies, and an active member of the Regina Golf Club.[14] An unabashed optimist and booster, Stapleford spoke the language businessmen understood and liked to hear. He always emphasized Regina's positive attributes and its great potential for growth. After an automobile trip to the Pacific coast in 1928, he reported that nowhere had he seen farm land to equal the land in Saskatchewan: "I am thoroughly convinced that a real effort to advertise Saskatchewan, coupled with the construction of a real automobile road across the Dominion, would find the tourist trade in Saskatchewan very great indeed."[15] Even in the 1930s depression,

Stapleford never lost his confidence in the fundamental strength of the province. Coming back from a trip to Prince Albert in the summer of 1930, he told the press that should anyone be down-in-the-mouth, he need only travel to northern Saskatchewan to discover that Saskatchewan was "the grandest country in the world."[16] Stapleford typically chose "The West Will Rise Again" as the theme for his address to the Toronto Board of Trade in 1934.

Businessmen appreciated Stapleford's booster spirit. He, on the other hand, genuinely admired their entrepreneurial drive and willingness to share their wealth for the sake of the college. Speaking to the Regina Kiwanis Club on the topic "The Contribution of Commerce to Civilization," he criticised snobbish magazine writers who took "pot shots" at businessmen: "Nearly all of the finer things of life—art, colleges, and hospitals—had been made possible through the gifts of men who had made their money in commerce."[17] Stapleford knew the importance of cultivating men of wealth and making Regina College a "going concern," but he did not confuse the necessities of economics with the ideals of education. In a sermon preached in Metropolitan Methodist Church, he took issue with the widely held assumption that education should serve only the basic needs of industry and agriculture: "Surely we should not look on the boys of our land as machines, so that they would be able merely to raise more cattle and better wheat than their fathers."[18] Education meant first and foremost the search for truth and the development of character, not the pursuit of economic efficiency. Stapleford performed a delicate balancing act; he had to be in the world of business but not entirely of it. To make his college survive and prosper he needed the backing of the business and professional class, but at the same time he had to guard against becoming so much a part of their world that he lost sight of the pure goals of education.

Stapleford made himself a well-known and respected leader in the Regina community. Swinging his cane with a flourish, he cut quite a figure as he strode down Scarth Street. However, not all of his popularity and prominence were his own doing; Mrs. Stapleford deserved a large share of the credit. In an age when the role of women in public life was less visible than it is now, her contribution is easily overlooked. The truth of the matter is that the Staplefords were a team. Mrs. Stapleford carved out a niche of her own in Regina society and in so doing helped her husband immeasurably. She gathered around her local artists, writers, musicians, visitors distinguished in the arts and sciences, as well as women involved in different aspects of community work. In her home in Regina College "the wife of the Premier took tea with the wife of the clerk."[19] A graduate of Victoria College, Maude Stapleford assisted in the organisation of a University Women's Club because she believed college-educated women

had a responsibility to give leadership for the betterment of the community. Through the Regina Local Council of Women, of which she was president for six years, she pushed for legislative reforms. Her presentation in 1920 of the report of the council's standing committee on Laws for Women and Children, was regarded as a masterpiece of skilful advocacy:

> *She received a warmer ovation than one remembers anyone to have been given in years by the Local Council of Women. Her concise and crystal clear presenting of the desired laws, and the reasons why they are desired, made yesterday's meeting very enthusiastic. . .it was a splendid triumph for the committee and its chairman.*[20]

Partly as a result of lobbying by the Local Council of Women, the province passed laws providing: the right of a mother to equal guardianship and custody of children; the right of a wife to a more equitable share in her husband's estate; mothers' pensions; a juvenile court; and minimum wages for women. A story was told about how formidable an advocate Mrs. Stapleford could be. The Staplefords lived across Wascana Lake from the legislature. Apparently, when Premier Martin looked out his office window in the wintertime and saw Mrs. Stapleford trudging across the lake on her way to an interview with him, he "trembled in his boots."[21]

In addition to her interest in protective legislation for women and children, Mrs. Stapleford helped manage the Babies' Welfare Home, a home for the temporary care of dependent children under three years of age. She assisted in 1922 with the establishment of the "Everywoman's Fund," which raised $50,000 for the fight against tuberculosis. The fund provided free sanatarium care for tubercular mothers and their babies. Mrs. Stapleford also help found the Regina branch of the Victorian Order of Nurses and participated in the Women's Canadian Club, the women's auxiliary to the Institute for the Blind, the women's auxiliary to the General Hospital, and the women's auxiliary to the Regina Symphony Orchestra. She served on the executive of the provincial, municipal, and primary chapters of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire.

On top of all of these commitments, Mrs. Stapleford made time to pursue her keen interest in art. She set up the art committee of the Local Council of Women, one of the pioneer art associations in Saskatchewan. She played a prominent part in the Women's Educational Club, which functioned as the women's auxiliary of Regina College. The club purchased paintings for the college, and, in the 1930s, donated scholarships for intellectually deserving but financially poor students. The members of the club, numbering 167 in 1933, met once a month to transact their business and to hear an edifying lecture. The topics covered everything from "The

Development of Canadian Aviation," to "Ancient and Modern Marriage Customs." Concerning the latter talk, the minutes record, "In a very racy talk the speaker mentioned many forms of marriage as having obtained through the centuries to the present time with its doubtfully perfect system."[22] The minutes also hint at the influence of Mrs. Stapleford upon the Women's Educational Club. Following a speech she gave in 1936 about the international women's organisation for disarmament, the members voted to support the movement with a financial donation and to receive relevant literature. At other meetings Mrs. Stapleford explained the work of the League of Nations, illustrating her lecture with excerpts from a magazine called "War Drums and Peace Plans."[23]

A picture emerges of Mrs. Stapleford as a very able partner for her husband. Each of them, in their respective spheres, gave real leadership to the people of Regina—President Stapleford in his professional capacity as churchman and educator, Mrs. Stapleford as a volunteer member of a variety of women's organisations. Together they became part of the fabric of the community. Everything they did for public welfare, education and the arts reflected back upon Regina College. Perhaps Robert Milliken's previously quoted statement that "President Stapleford. . . made Regina College," should be modified to read, "The Staplefords made Regina College."

When Stapleford came to Regina in 1915, his first priority had been to restore the financial health of the college. With that accomplished, he set about the resumption of the building program. Construction materials for the girls' residence still littered the college grounds, construction having been halted because of the shortage of money. Stapleford negotiated a loan of $100,000 from the Canada Permanent Mortgage Corporation at 7 percent to allow the completion of the building. In March 1916 the college invited prominent citizens from Regina and surrounding district to celebrate the official opening. The ceremonies included a performance by the Regina College orchestra and choir of Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus." At last the college had left the doldrums and had something to cheer about.

The north doorway of the girls' residence opened into a spacious reception hall with fireplace. The decor and furnishings suggested, according to the college advertisement, "an atmosphere of quiet culture which can not but have a good influence upon all the young ladies who are privileged to make it their home."[24] At the south end of the ground floor, the Staplefords lived in a large apartment with a fine view of Wascana Lake and the Legislative Building. The second and third floors consisted of dormitories for the girls, who now vacated the rooms on the third floor of the college building. This meant that the boys, who had up until this time occupied the old hospital building on Hamilton Street, could move into the college building.

Stapleford intended these dormitory arrangements to be temporary pending the construction of a boys' residence, but, in point of fact, a boys' residence was never built. While the girls had relatively good accommodation, the boys' bedrooms were classrooms divided into smaller units by wood partitions. James M. Minifie, the eminent journalist and author and one of the most famous of Regina College alumni, had a room in the college building from 1919 to 1921. He left a good account of the view from his south side window. Regina College was at that time at the edge of the prairie with scarcely a tree to be seen:

> *I could look out on fifty miles of wheat, covering the Regina Plain to the foot of the Dirt Hills, a faint blue smudge on the horizon. In the foreground, Wascana Lake, a small artificial pond, offered romantic attractions of water and willow, with the architectural glories of the Legislative Building rivalling, however remotely, the Taj Mahal, in the background. By dint of constant watering, rolling and mowing, a lawn of impressive size and vigour had been created, while hedges of luxuriant caragana provided secluded nooks where students from co-educational institutions could pursue their researches, with only an occasional discreet interruption from the sparrow-cop when the pursuit of knowledge appeared to be getting out of hand.*[25]

Although the boys' wing was not built, other new buildings appeared on the fledgling campus: a gymnasium in 1925, a central heating plant in 1928, and a music and art building in 1929. The absence of a gymnasium had severely restricted the athletic program. The girls were deprived of the opportunity to play gymnasium sports, while the boys trekked down to the YMCA. The downtown location of the "Y" tempted boys to skip physical education in favour of the movies or the pool hall. The faculty felt so strongly about the need for a gym that they pledged themselves to get behind a movement to raise the necessary funds.[26] The teachers contributed $1,082, the students gave an additional $1,815, but the largest donation of $30,000 came from philanthropists C.M. Willoughby and W.H. Duncan. Designed by J.H. Puntin and built by the firm of Smith Brothers and Wilson, the gymnasium cost $48,058, the difference between the donations and the cost being made up by bank loans. The official opening on 13 January 1925 was commemorated by a pageant depicting the fourteen-year history of the college.[27]

In March 1927 President Stapleford outlined a long-range financial and building plan. He set as a goal the raising of $340,000: $35,000 to cancel the existing debt, $70,000 for a new central heating plant, $120,000

for a boys' residence, and $115,000 for a music and art building. Only two of the four objectives were met. The central heating plant was completed in 1928, and Darke Hall opened in 1929. The latter was made possible by the largesse of F.N. Darke, a member of the board of governors from 1911 to 1933. He intended the building as a "temple of the arts," a centre of cultural activity for the college and the city. Darke Hall stands as the crowning achievement of the expansion of Regina College in the 1920s.[28]

The buildings on the campus testified to the vigour of Stapleford's administration, but, of course, more is involved in running a college than enlarging the physical plant and balancing the books. Without a competent and dedicated faculty, the whole exercise loses its point. Utter confusion and demoralization reigned when President Stapleford took over in 1915. Most of the faculty had quit or been fired, with the important exception of the ever-dependable E.R. Doxsee, professor of Latin, Greek, and ancient history. Stapleford had the advantage of beginning with a virtually clean slate. During a trip to the east, he interviewed graduates from the University of Toronto, Queen's and McGill. The successful candidates were Clifford L. Treleaven, mathematics; Grace Morgan, dean of women's residence and teacher of English; J. Wesley Ansley, dean of men's residence and teacher of natural science and agriculture; Sadie S. Bigelow, modern languages; and Olive R. Cruickshank, household director and teacher of domestic science. The salaries ranged from $750 to $900 per year, with board and room in the college being provided at no cost. In 1917 President Stapleford hired the Reverend J.W. Storey, formerly boys' work secretary for the YMCA in western Canada, as the first instructor in religious education. As well as teaching courses in religious studies, he preached in churches throughout the province, soliciting subscriptions and students for Regina College.[29]

Stapleford had a talent for recruiting well-qualified teachers who were effective in the classroom. Although the turnover among the faculty was relatively high, this was mainly because Regina College could not afford to pay high salaries. Stapleford, on his trips to the east, found bright young people recently graduated from university, who taught at the college for a while and then often went on to distinguished careers elsewhere. An example was Wallace Sterling, a history teacher who gained fame as president of Stanford University. Under his leadership from 1949 to 1968, Stanford developed a reputation as one of the most prestigious schools in the United States. Gordon Guest, appointed to teach chemistry at Regina College, later received a doctorate from McGill University and carried out research at the Chalk River atomic energy plant. Ernest Thackeray, a mathematics teacher, better known as "Red" Thackeray, eventually

became head of the physics department at the university in Akron, Ohio. Lewis C. Walmsley, also a mathematics instructor, went to China where he acquired the knowledge that led to his appointment as an Oriental expert at the University of Toronto. W.A. Riddell, initially hired to teach chemistry, later served as dean and then principal of the Regina campus of the University of Saskatchewan. H. Lasky Taylor of the chemistry department went on to a successful career in research and teaching at the University of Michigan. Dr. Karl Bernhardt, at one time dean of the men's residence, wrote several books and headed the department of psychology at the University of Toronto. J.W. Ansley, recruited by Stapleford in 1915, left Regina to become the principal of York Memorial Collegiate in Toronto.[30]

Even this partial list of teachers who had careers of some distinction speaks well for Stapleford's discernment in selecting staff. One of his inspired choices was Frank E. Wagg. Born on Manitoulin Island in Ontario, Wagg came west in 1904, taking a homestead in the Weyburn district. In 1907 he entered the Methodist ministry as a lay preacher for two years before enrolling at Wesley College, Winnipeg, where he graduated in 1915 with a Bachelor of Arts degree. He earned a Master's degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1919. He was stationed at the Methodist church at Quill Lake, Saskatchewan, until his appointment in 1922 to Regina College. With an academic background in rural sociology, he taught both the special course for young farmers and the economics courses. In 1925, Professor E.R. Doxsee, the academic dean and registrar, suffered a stroke which forced him to take a year's rest. Although Professor Doxsee returned to teach, he never recovered sufficiently to resume his administrative duties. Wagg took over as dean and registrar, continuing in the latter position until his retirement in 1951. Throughout his many years at Regina College, he remained active as a United Church minister, preaching and conducting services in various churches. He claimed that the single most valuable feature of the college was the daily devotional period set aside for the students. Wagg filled an important function not least of all because, with the high turnover of teaching staff, he provided a sense of continuity and stability. As registrar for many years he welcomed more than five thousand students, many of whom thought of him when they thought of the college.[31]

President Stapleford not only chose wisely in appointing faculty, but he also had a knack for keeping tabs on his staff and monitoring their performance in the classroom. Since faculty contracts could be terminated with two months' notice, teachers who failed to measure up were soon shown the door. Dr. Gordon Guest recalls how at the end of his first year of teaching, he was invited to the president's office. Stapleford placed on the desk a list of the classes Guest had taught, together with the marks

received by each of the students and the percentage of failures. The president reviewed the grades, starting with the second year university class and systematically going down through the high school grades. He noted that 5 percent in the university class had failed and so on down the line. When he came to grade ten, the tone of his voice suggested that a 20 percent failure rate was a little high. At the conclusion of the interview, Stapleford told Guest that he had, on the whole, done well and merited a salary increase from $1800 to $1900 per year.[32] In the absence of a union or professional association, the president more or less set the salary rates. As a rule of thumb, the teachers with most seniority were paid more, but Stapleford enjoyed discretionary authority to adjust upward the salaries of those he considered especially valuable to the college. The salary arrangements for the teachers in the music conservatory were slightly different. They set their own fees and were allowed to keep two-thirds of what they earned, the other one-third being retained by the college. Thus the more popular teachers and those who worked hardest earned the most. In 1922 after the music teachers protested that the college was taking too large a portion of their earnings, the regulations were revised so that on earnings up to $2000 the college took one-third, but on earnings above $2000 the college took only one-fifth.[33]

The absence of a collective agreement for the faculty endowed the president with powers that would now be called despotic. No one seems to have challenged this state of affairs or even considered it unfair. Perhaps the faculty were aware of the precarious financial situation and knew that without Stapleford's fund-raising expertise the very existence of the college might be in doubt. On at least one occasion, however, the faculty took a stand against the president's authority. David Smith, the dean of boys, expelled a youth who had been caught smoking three times. Stapleford insisted that the boy, whose father happened to be a judge, not be expelled. The other members of the staff supported Smith in the dispute, causing Stapleford to compromise. The boy was permitted to stay, but Stapleford had to agree to the designation of one room in the boys' residence as the smoking room.[34] In this way the situation was clarified, and the hypocrisy of winking at smoking ended.

Whatever might be said for or against a system that gave considerable power to the president over the faculty, the fact remains that Regina College enjoyed a reputation for good teaching. Vernon C. Fowke, author of *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy*, who attended Regina College from 1922 to 1926, commented, "The competence and loyalty of the faculty were of a high order and students could rely on their unhesitating willingness and ability to be of assistance."[35] James Minifie referred to the "immolating devotion of Regina College's faculty."[36]

The faculty worked hard for their small salaries. Teaching loads were heavy and extracurricular duties onerous, particularly for those who lived in the residence. The opportunities for research and writing under such conditions were minimal. Occasionally, however, teachers took leaves of absence or were given special incentives to upgrade their qualifications. For example, J.W. Ansley, "by way of recognition of completion of seven years of service in the college," received $250 to enable him to take a post-graduate course in the summer.[37] Despite the long hours, poor pay, and meagre fringe benefits, the morale among teachers appeared to be generally high. The faculty met daily at 4:00 p.m. for tea in the staff room where a "nice spirit" prevailed. Dan Cameron of the music conservatory staff described the ritual:

> *What ever it be, Mr. Hampshire holds the prize for tea-quality. His recipe is, put it all in, and fill up the pot. In this way the tougher nerves of the men, the more fragile susceptibilities, of Miss Mooney, Miss Graham, etc., are met, straight, or diluted. As the later (hard-worked) members arrive, the original consistency seems to undergo what may be called deflation. By the time Dr. Stapleford, Dr. Graham and Mr. Wilson arrive, all nerve-danger is removed, as well as most of the bread. Mr. Wagg is usually very much out of luck owing to some curious necessity which keeps him in the Dean's Room some time after four o'clock. He may in time undertake to serve tea in his sanctum, for himself, and his special guests.*
>
> *The Staff Room is really a clearing house of plans and ideas, and serves the purpose admirably. There are times, of course, when Pure Abstraction dominates, especially when Mr. Smith and Dr. Riddell attend, but generally speaking, the topic has to do with the daily "bread and butter" of college and conservatory life. You will recall that, when you were students, you used to gather round and talk of what would be best for the teachers? Well, it's just like that in the Tea Room, only the other way around.*[38]

Hilda Neatby, on the staff from 1934 to 1946, confirms the impression of a dedicated, convivial faculty: "The members of the staff were nearly all young, enthusiastic—and poor. We were a happy group, living on easy and friendly terms with each other and with our students."[39]

President Stapleford deserved credit for assembling and maintaining a first-rate corps of teachers. There were those who disputed his credentials

as an intellectual, but no one could gainsay his capacity to recognise academic talent and teaching ability. Stapleford ran a tight ship. His gift for administration was exceeded only by his gift for raising money. Under his direction, Regina College in the 1920s had an almost uninterrupted record of success. The only major setback occurred in the fall of 1920 when a typhoid epidemic struck the college.

The epidemic was all the more alarming and disconcerting because the college had escaped unscathed the widespread influenza epidemic of 1918-19. At that time many Reginans died, but the college, having instituted a strict quarantine, suffered no casualties. The problem in 1920 arose from an infected milk supply. The college had for seven years purchased its milk from a farmer who lived four miles outside of the city limits. He was licensed by the municipal authorities to sell milk, and his premises were regularly inspected by the health department, but the law did not compel pasteurisation. One of the farm workers, who unknowingly was a typhoid carrier, contaminated the milk, causing sixty-eight students, four teachers, and six members of the household staff to contract the fever. Early in December 1920 President Stapleford cancelled all the classes and ordered the girls' residence converted into an infirmary. Four doctors and thirty-six nurses cared for the patients around the clock.[40] All that month grim notices like the following appeared in the newspaper.

> *Miss Ila Mae, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John Hodder of Rouleau, died yesterday morning at Regina College, the second victim of typhoid within a week in this institution. The remains will be shipped today from the funeral home of J.A. Wright to Rouleau where the funeral will take place Sunday afternoon.*
>
> *Roy Renwick, member of the teaching staff, succumbed. His father, George Renwick of Westwood, Ontario, arrived at his son's bedside Thursday morning. He was only 28 years of age.*[41]

Doris Brogden of Viceroy, Saskatchewan, was at the time a grade eleven student living in the girls' residence. As more students fell ill, the infirmary expanded, forcing Doris and her roommate to pack up their things and move to a room in another part of the building. One day her roommate began complaining that she did not feel too well, but gave Doris strict orders not to tell anyone. The roommate feared being labelled a typhoid victim. Doris, realising that her friend was sinking fast, decided to place a telephone call to Viceroy. Within a few hours, the fathers of the girls arrived at the college to take them home. The doctor in Viceroy imposed a quarantine on the two homes to prevent the infection from spreading.

Doris was told that if she did not succumb to typhoid within twenty-one days, she likely would not catch the disease at all. On exactly the twenty-first day she fell ill. Bedridden for weeks and not allowed to eat anything but milk and lime water, she and her roommate finally recovered.[42] Eight other students and one teacher were not so lucky. The only students who were completely safe were the war veterans who had been inoculated while in the army. After the horrendous experience of the epidemic, the college insisted that all incoming students furnish proof of anti-typhoid inoculation and anti-smallpox vaccination.[43]

The college had sustained a heavy blow. The cost amounted to $24,185—$14,713 for medical expenses and $9,472 in lost revenues from fees not paid. No one could calculate the public relations damage. A black cloud now hung over the institution that promised in its advertisements, "Your boy or girl will be safe at Regina College." The Regina *Leader*, a consistent supporter of Stapleford's efforts to build up the college, gave only sparse coverage to the epidemic. Rather than playing up or sensationalizing the crisis, the newspaper ran a few short articles and buried them in the back pages. The college could not really be charged with negligence, because at that time many people drank unpasteurised milk. Indeed, the only good result from the epidemic was added impetus to the movement for compulsory pasteurisation. Dr. Corbett, the college physician, attested to the disappearance not only of serious infections, but also of sore throats and other minor ailments, after the college stopped using raw milk. President Stapleford joked that the college nurse now spent most of her time doing crossword puzzles.[44]

Nonetheless, enrolment of academic students dipped from 203 in 1920 to 180 in 1921 and 136 in 1922, though other factors, like the poor state of the economy, might very well explain the decline. After 1922 the number of academic students increased year by year, reaching a peak of 239 in 1929. The enrolment of conservatory students also showed steady gains during the 1920s, rising from 387 in 1921 to 662 in 1929. Many of the music students lived in the city and came to the college only once or twice a week for their lessons. They, therefore, cannot be considered full-time students in the same category as the academic students. All the same, Regina College could impressively claim in 1929 to have a total of 861 students. (The total number of students cannot be derived by adding the number of academic students to the number of conservatory students because some students were enrolled in both programs.)[45]

Although the steadily increasing student population seemed to bode nothing but good for the future of the college, the enrolment pattern contained a disturbing factor. Table 1 discloses the important fact that the initial constituency of Regina College was disappearing. The school had

been founded in 1911 to provide a good quality secondary education to young people from rural Saskatchewan who did not have ready access to a high school. As the province left the pioneer era, rural communities acquired some of the amenities of civilisation. More and more rural schools offered "continuation classes" in grades nine and ten; high schools became more common. Fewer students had to leave home for a residential school in order to continue their education. In 1920, 171 (84 percent) of the 203 academic students at Regina College were in the lower grades up to and including grade eleven. In 1929, however, only 121 (51 percent) of the 239 students were in grades eleven and lower. President Stapleford could see the writing on the wall. As rural Saskatchewan filled in and developed, the potential student body of Regina College would continue to shrink. The once-popular special course for farmers' sons ceased to attract students and was dropped in 1925. The same fate awaited the stenography and accounting courses in 1929.[46]

TABLE 1
ACADEMIC STUDENTS ATTENDING REGINA COLLEGE
1920-1930

Year ending	Prepar-atory	Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12	Second year Arts	% in first & second year Arts	TOTAL
1920	33	37	47	54	32	—	16	203
1921	18	28	40	61	33	—	18	180
1922	8	26	31	47	24	—	18	136
1923	9	20	40	53	32	—	21	154
1924	10	20	24	53	51	—	32	158
1925	6	9	23	56	47	—	33	141
1926	0	22	27	64	63	36	47	212
1927	7	19	22	65	87	38	53	238
1928	3	17	22	58	82	41	55	223
1929	8	13	35	65	69	49	49	239
1930	2	9	26	56	57	54	54	204
1933	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	151

Source: University of Regina Archives, 7516, Report of the Registrar to the Regina College Senate, 1932.

President Stapleford conceived a strategy to counter this developing problem. Since Regina College had at best a limited future as a secondary institution, it had to evolve into a university. There were hundreds of

students in Regina and southern Saskatchewan who could not afford to attend university in Saskatoon, but would be glad of the opportunity to receive undergraduate training in Regina. As a first step toward the realisation of this goal, Stapleford in 1925 obtained junior college status for Regina College in affiliation with the University of Saskatchewan. The agreement with the university permitted the college to offer first year (at the time equivalent to grade twelve) and second year arts. Beginning in the fall of 1925, students at Regina College could receive credit from the University of Saskatchewan for second year arts courses in English, French, Latin, economics, history, chemistry, mathematics, and physical education.[47] To complete their degree, graduates from Regina College had to take two more full years in Saskatoon or at some other university.

Junior college status represented a significant step forward. The faculty responsible for teaching first and second year arts now made regular trips to Saskatoon to consult with the heads of their respective departments:

> *One of the events for the faculty was an annual pilgrimage to Saskatoon by the staff members teaching university classes. Because there was little money available to the College for travel, a group of six would squeeze into a Ford or Chevrolet and drive to Saskatoon in the morning—a six or seven hour trip usually in very cold weather—and return in the evening after spending several hours with the University faculty members responsible for the classes we were teaching. On the less severe trips we often played cribbage in the back seat, on others we merely shivered.*[48]

The Saskatoon professors set the examinations and marked them. Stapleford, of course, urged his staff to do all in their power to make sure the Regina students performed well. The honour and credibility of the college were at stake.

As a junior college recognised by the University of Saskatchewan, Regina College had an ambivalent role, no longer merely a secondary school, but not a university either. From the time of his assumption of the leadership of the college in 1915, President Stapleford had taken the institution from a state of near-collapse to the point where it was on the verge of developing into a liberal arts college. Inheriting a financially bankrupt operation, he almost miraculously found money that had previously been unavailable. New buildings—a girls' residence, a gymnasium, a central heating plant, and Darke Hall—gave tangible proof of the vigour of the college. The president recruited a teaching staff of unquestioned competence and dedication. All of these things did not just happen, they were the products of Stapleford's complete commitment to

the welfare of his school. As the 1920s drew to a close, he faced another challenge. Unless Regina College adapted to the times and expanded upwards towards university work, the number of students would inevitably decline. The college had been created to fill an educational need, namely the schooling of the rural youth of the province. Those students were now increasingly being served by an improved rural school system. Regina College, whose motto had always been "As one who serves," now needed to define another area of service. The logical and natural evolution of the college lay in the direction of a degree program. By gaining junior college status in 1925, Stapleford had taken an intermediate step. However, the perception of the University of Saskatchewan was completely different. President Walter Murray assumed as an immutable principle that the province should have only one university. He was utterly determined to make sure that Regina College would never evolve beyond junior college status. Thus the developments of the 1920s set the stage for a major collision that would take place in the 1930s.

NOTES

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3 URA, secretary's correspondence, file 4; board of governors executive committee minutes, 15 June 1915; secretary's correspondence, D.J. Thom to Reverend S.D. Chown, 9 March 1915.
4 URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 16 January 1916; Regina *Leader*, 28 December 1915; URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 16 March 1916.
5 Regina *Leader*, 7 June 1918, 9 June 1937.
6 Ibid., 30 October 1917.
7 Ibid., 3 November 1923, 6 November 1928.
8 Ibid., 21 May 1923.
9 Ibid., 8 November 1923.
10 URA, board of governors minutes, 23 May 1918, 24 January 1934.
11 URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 27 April 1920.
12 Ibid., 26 May 1915, 27 May 1920.
13 UCCA, Robert Milliken, Personal Papers, "Jottings from a Methodist Itinerant Cleric's Notebook."
14 Regina *Leader Post*, 6 and 10 February 1959.
15 Regina *Leader*, 3 August 1928.
16 Ibid, 31 August 1930.
17 Ibid., 26 March 1932.
18 Ibid., 20 November 1916.
19 Mary Weekes, "Cultural Pioneer," 22 January 1938, PHR Clippings file.
20 Regina *Leader*, 24 March 1920.
21 Elsie Stapleford, "Ernest William Stapleford and Family."
22 SAB, Women's Educational Club Minutes, April 1928.
23 Ibid., January 1936, January and 17 March 1937.
24 URA, *Regina College Calendar*, 1916-17.
25 James M. Minifie, *Homesteader: A Prairie Boyhood Recalled* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1972), 216. James M. (Don) Minifie attended Regina College from 1919 to 1921 and then proceeded on a scholarship to the University of Saskatchewan. Upon graduation in 1923, he went to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar. Later he had an outstanding career as a journalist and author.
26 URA, 7516, report to senate, no date.
27 URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 9 December 1924; Regina *Leader*, 14 January 1925.
28 URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 30 March 1927; Regina *Leader*, 30 May 1928.

29 URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 12 August 1915; Regina *Leader*, 2 March 1918.
30 *Newsweek*, 15 July 1985; Gordon H. Guest interview, 16 October 1984; James M. Minifie, *Homesteader*, 216.
31 Regina *Leader Post*, 21 July 1956; Regina *Leader*, 19 May 1922.
32 Gordon H. Guest interview, 16 October 1984.
33 URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 3 May 1922.
34 Mrs. Edith Smith interview, 5 March 1986.
35 URA, *Glimpses of The Last Fifty Years*, Vernon C. Fowke, "Regina College in the 1920s."
36 James M. Minifie, *Homesteader*, 214.
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39 URA, *Glimpses of The Last Fifty Years*, Hilda Neatby, "So Much for the Mind."
40 Regina *Leader*, 21 January 1921.
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42 Doris Brogden Dakin interview, 16 August 1984.
43 URA, *Regina College Annual Report*, 1921; URA, board of governors minutes, 19 January 1921.
44 URA, board of governors executive committee minutes, 23 March 1921; Regina *Leader*, 9 February 1925.
45 URA, *Regina College Annual Reports*, 1921-33; URA, report of the registrar to the senate, 1932.
46 URA, report of the business department to the senate, 1924-25; report of the academic and business department to the senate, 1928-29.
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FOUR

MUSIC AND ART AT REGINA COLLEGE

"...dedicated to Music and Art for the enrichment of the lives of the students of this College and of the people of this city."

Without the Conservatory of Music, Regina College would have been a less interesting institution. The conservatory gave the school an extra éclat and cultural sophistication. Even the students who did not take any music classes could not help but be influenced by the music-making. Almost every college function, from the annual spring banquet to the Student Christian Movement fireside program on Sunday evening, was graced and enlivened by song or instrumental playing. One chapel period each week was designated for a musical program presented by conservatory faculty and students. Music poured out the open windows of the studios and permeated the college. In the words of one former student, "With open windows that caught the music of the practice corridors many of us studied with the air heavy from Percy Grainger's 'Country Gardens.'"[1] The continual round of concerts and recitals gave the students a steady diet of good music. Whenever President Stapleford wished to impress visitors to the college, some of whom might be persuaded to open their wallets and help relieve the ever-present financial burden of the institution, he invariably improved the occasion by having a musical performance of some kind. Good music, as he well knew, has a way of uplifting an otherwise mundane affair.

The conservatory became the focal point for musical life in the city of Regina and the surrounding area. Members of the faculty led some of the major church choirs, conducted the Symphony Orchestra, directed the Philharmonic Society, and gave of their talents to a variety of other musical organisations. Not only did their leadership elevate the quality of the local production of music, but also the conservatory helped draw to the city world-renowned artists. Celebrities such as Fritz Kreisler, Madame Galli-Curci, Marcel Dupré, and Lawrence Tibbet, performed in Regina in the 1920s and 1930s. The Regina concert-goer was well served, especially when one remembers that the population of the city in 1921 was only thirty-four thousand.

The influence of the conservatory extended beyond Regina to the wider territory of southern Saskatchewan and, indeed, throughout the whole

province. As a result, Regina College enjoyed a much higher profile than it otherwise would have had. Music was one area where the college held a clear superiority over the University of Saskatchewan, which did not have a school of music until 1931.[2] Regina adopted a deliberate policy of taking the lead and winning a place as the dominant musical centre in the province, if not western Canada. Supporters of the conservatory hoped that one day it would occupy the position in the west that the Toronto Conservatory of Music occupied in the east. Students came from all parts of rural Saskatchewan to receive their musical training. Following graduation, many of them returned to villages and small towns where they in effect acted as the conservatory's emissaries, teaching piano lessons, conducting choirs, and, in general, encouraging good music. The impact over the years upon cultural standards in Saskatchewan, though difficult to measure, was certainly great.

The first man to direct the music department at Regina College in 1911 was Dr. J.E. Hodgson. His appointment created quite a stir, inspiring the *Daily Province* to boast that Regina now had an advantage over the whole west because no other city possessed a musician of equal reputation and ability.[3] Upon the announcement of the appointment, more than a dozen people telephoned the office of the *Leader* to say how pleased they were to have Dr. Hodgson coming to the city. The new director, a "very short, chunky, rosy-faced Englishman,"[4] had had a distinguished career in his native land. At the age of nineteen, he was made an associate of the Royal School of Organists and four years later, became a fellow of the same college. He completed in 1904 the degree of Bachelor of Music at Durham University. His composition of a setting of Dryden's song for St. Cecilia's Day, for eight-part chorus and full orchestra, was accepted as meeting the requirements for a Doctorate of Music. Following the completion of his studies, Dr. Hodgson served as deputy leader of the Glasgow Choral Union and Scottish Orchestra as well as organist of Lansdowne Church, one of the largest and wealthiest churches in the west end of Glasgow. He also filled the posts of deputy leader, organist, and accompanist to the Sheffield Choir. In connection with a tour by the choir, he first came to Regina. While in the city, he gave a special organ recital for a select group, including some influential members of the board of governors of Regina College. Not long afterwards, the college invited Dr. Hodgson to be the first musical director.

Assisting him were two prominent local musicians, Franklin L. Laubach and W.H. Buckley, who agreed to teach respectively violin and orchestral instruments, and violin, piano, organ and theory. Laubach arrived in Regina in 1904 from Scotland where he had been bandmaster to the King's Bodyguard for Scotland and to the First Edinburgh City Garrison

Royal Artillery. As organist and choir leader of St. Paul's Anglican pro Cathedral in Regina and as the founder of the Regina Symphony Orchestra, he provided notable leadership in the musical community.[5] Buckley was organist and choirmaster at Metropolitan Methodist Church. The other two members of the original music faculty were Miss Camilla Kramer, instructor in piano, and Miss Mary Munro, instructor in violin.[6]

According to a short history of the conservatory written about 1932, classes began in a small wooden building on the hospital grounds. Someone reputedly later bought the building, moved it to the back of his property, and converted it into a chicken coop.[7] Whatever of the truth of the story, the music department from the outset did strong and effective work. The wide range of courses offered by 1913 included: piano, vocal physiology, voice culture, solo singing, organ, American organ, violin, viola, cello, double-bass, flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, trumpet, trombone, and other orchestra instruments, composition, harmony, counterpoint, form, fugue and orchestration, choral and orchestral conducting, and music history. Very young children enrolled in the kindergarten where they learned "the vital principles of Time, Tune, Rhythm. . .under the most pleasant conditions."[8] In the early years, the Regina conservatory followed the syllabus prepared by the McGill University Conservatory. McGill sent a representative to Regina every spring to administer the examinations. The examiner in 1914 publicly commended the conservatory for its high standards as evidenced by the capable performance of the examination candidates.[9] Regina College soon gained sufficient confidence to set its own syllabus and give its own examinations.

Conservatory concerts became eagerly anticipated and well-attended events. Dr. Hodgson started a college orchestra whose public performances earned plaudits, and some of the conservatory-trained singers enjoyed modest fame. A good example of the excitement that could be generated among music-lovers by a particularly good concert appeared in a review published in the *Leader*, 30 April 1913. The critic praised the concert as "one of the most successful local events, both socially and artistically, of the past few years." *The pièce de résistance* was:

> *a most artistic arrangement of the 'Misere Scene' from 'Il Trovatore,' the chorus being supplied by the gentlemen students, and the soloists being Miss Lillian Butler and Mr. J.D. Hallman, whose voices were always a delight to hear. . . . As a rule grand opera numbers out of costume are not very satisfying, owing to the lack of accessories of stage and scenery; but the directors of the college overcame this drawback very cleverly by placing Miss Butler (Leonora) on the platform before the audience, Mr. Hallman (Manrico) in a room somewhere down the hall, where*

> *he had his individual accompaniment and the chorus of men were drawn up in the hall between the two. As the sad strains of the men's voices were borne from without, Leonora's sweet voice rises in that splendid aria, which everyone knows, giving place to the voice of Manrico in his dungeon cell, the whole splendid work ending by the doors of the hall at Miss Butler's right being opened so that the chorus swells naturally and dramatically, and, at the left, Mr. Hallman opens the door and finishes in a burst of glorious melody. The whole effect was magical—but most artistic, and whoever arranged the number thus is a born stage manager.*[10]

The number must have had quite an impact because years later it was still being referred to as the performance that made the reputations of the two principal singers.

Dr. Hodgson tendered his resignation in 1915, making way for Golan Hoole, his successor as director of the conservatory. Described as a "big Scotsman with a voice of great range and power," Hoole had taught in the vocal department almost since the inception of the college.[11] He built up the choir, attracting to its membership some of the leading vocalists in the city including some who were not actually students at the college. In this way, the conservatory extended its influence in the musical community.[12] The choir's major production in 1916, Handel's *Messiah*, proved a great success and earned special commendation from the board of governors.[13]

Hoole's term as director lasted only two years. Resigning in 1917, he was replaced by Harold Holgate, who guided the conservatory until 1920. However, neither Hoole nor Holgate had an impact upon the development of the conservatory to compare with that of their successor, Frederick George Killmaster. Formerly assistant organist at St. James Cathedral in Toronto, Killmaster held the position of director from 1920 to 1928, during which time the number of students increased from 387 to 501. The conservatory adopted its own syllabus and established itself as an examination centre for Saskatchewan. New courses were introduced and a highly successful summer school inaugurated.

The conservatory's vitality and record of success during the 1920s was largely attributable to the high quality of the faculty. While the staff in 1923 consisted of twelve thoroughly trained and competent teachers, two men in particular stand out. W. Knight Wilson arrived in 1923 and remained with the conservatory until 1955, with the exception of the years 1941 to 1945 when he served as the bandmaster of the Canadian Army Band. Dan A. Cameron also joined the conservatory in 1923, retaining

a studio until his death forty years later. Because of both the longevity and the quality of their contribution, Knight Wilson and Cameron occupy a unique place in the history of the conservatory.

W. Knight Wilson was born in Scotland in 1887 and acquired his musical education, beginning at the age of eight, at the Glasgow Atheneum. He studied under Henri Verbruggen, the famous Belgian violinist, specialising in violin, chamber music, and orchestration. Schooled in the exacting standards of the Scottish Symphony Orchestra, Knight Wilson rose in the ranks to the position of first violin. After World War I, he emigrated to Canada, spending two years in Ottawa as an orchestra conductor and one year in Toronto as concertmaster. Regina offered him three positions in 1923: conductor of the Regina Symphony Orchestra, senior teacher in violin and viola at the conservatory, and conductor of the Capitol Theatre Orchestra.[14]

Knight Wilson filled all three positions with distinction. Though well known for musicianship, he was almost as famous in Regina for his prowess on the golf course. In fact, rumour circulated to the effect that he found a four-hundred-yard drive more thrilling than a perfect symphonic climax. A local clergyman, who stepped on to the fairway at what he considered a safe distance, had to be removed from the course after being hit on the head by Knight Wilson's ball. The victim, a Scot, a golfer, and a Christian, experienced no lasting aftereffects, except for an enhanced respect for the musician's drives.[15]

Soon after Knight Wilson began teaching at the conservatory, the director asked him to take on an important job. Killmaster was worried about the weakness of the music department in the area of orchestral work. The orchestra that had been established in Hodgson's day had gone out of existence. Killmaster believed in the necessity of an orchestra to assist the development of the string department "in numbers, interest, and enthusiasm."[16] Knight Wilson took up the challenge and rapidly made the Regina College junior orchestra "perhaps the finest juvenile orchestra ever heard in Western Canada."[17] Year after year it carried off the top prizes at the provincial music festival. William Phillips, the United States ambassador to Canada, praised the "amazingly high" artistic standard and commented that before coming to Regina he had no idea that musical performance had attained such a high level in the Canadian west.[18] In 1934, Thomas Dunhill, the English composer of chamber music, light opera, and works for orchestra, adjudicated the Saskatchewan music festival. When the Regina College junior orchestra performed one of his compositions, *The Chiddingford Suite*, Dunhill was so impressed that he met with the players for a teaching session and went through the entire suite with them. Dunhill later assured Knight Wilson: "I shall always feel greatly interested

in your musical work in Regina, which is on such a high level. It is wonderful what you are doing."[19]

While Knight Wilson built up the reputation of the conservatory in the violin and strings department, Dan Cameron exerted a powerful influence in the vocal department. Born in Ottawa in 1880 of Scottish parentage, he studied music in New York under Herbert Witherspoon, Oscar Saenger, and other well-known teachers. He taught voice at Albert College in Belleville, Ontario, until signing up in 1915 with the Canadian Expeditionary Force. Awarded the Military Cross for gallantry in France, he retired from the army at the end of hostilities with the rank of major. He worked for a time with the Department of Veterans' Affairs, during which time he was soloist at one of the leading churches in Ottawa.[20] Within a short time of coming to Regina in January 1923 he made his presence felt. Killmaster paid Cameron the compliment of saying that within a year he had established a reputation "as the city's outstanding vocalist and a teacher of sterling worth."[21]

Cameron was actively involved in the musical scene on many fronts. For twenty-five years he was choirmaster at Knox Church, first when it was Presbyterian and later as a United Church. L.A. Thornton, Regina city commissioner and a long-time member of the choir, described Cameron's directorship as "a twenty-five year benevolent but autocratic rule."[22] Thornton went on to say:

> *He was insistent on punctuality and regularity of attendance. This appeared to us as a proper approach, although we had to adjust ourselves to a regime of that kind. I believe when the choir came to church service, we acquired a sense, a feeling that we were there to assist the minister, to assist the congregation in that dignified worshipful attitude that must characterize every gathering of people who come together to worship. . . .*[23]

Cameron, over the years, worked with many musical organisations: the Regina Amateur Operatic Society, the Ladies' Bach Choir, the Philharmonic Society, the Orchestral Society, and the Regina Male Voice Choir, which he directed from 1926 to 1946. He was one of the founders of the Regina Music Teachers' Association, a president of the Saskatchewan Music Teachers' Association, and a vice-president of the Canadian Federation of Music Teachers. He gave yeoman service to the music festival association. Jan Pierce, of the New York Metropolitan Opera, commented: "Regina was very fortunate in having in its midst as one of its citizens, a man whose stature in the field of music was so well recognized across this country and far into the United States of America."[24]

From 1923 until his death in 1963 Cameron wrote a weekly music column. In fact he suffered the massive heart attack that killed him, at age eight-three, while working on an article in the *Leader-Post* newsroom. In addition to the long-running music column, Cameron contributed book reviews, drama reviews, interviews with prominent people, and, in later years, editorials. For decades he edited and published the *Regina College Conservatory Students' Bulletin*, which enabled former students to keep in touch with the news and activities of the conservatory. Because Cameron wrote so much over such a long period of time, we know more about his thoughts and opinions than those of any other teacher at the conservatory. He often said his first love was literature, and he encouraged the students with whom he came in contact to read and cherish the written word. He read widely himself, kept informed of current affairs, and loved to talk. Many acquaintances and friends met him only on coffee row, on the street, or in his book-lined apartment, far from the world of music. Even his music columns partook of a broad range of learning and scholarly reflection. For example, in the course of announcing a forthcoming recital, he was apt to quote George Santayana or Isak Dinesen. He spiced his articles with references to contemporary politics. Thus, Adolph Hitler and the Ethiopian Crisis found their way into a column about opera.

Cameron once confided that his personal goal was to be able to say, like St. Paul, "I have fought the good fight, I have finished the course, I have kept the faith."[25] He laced many of his columns with oblique references to the values he held dear. Many illustrations could be cited, for example, a reflection in 1933 on the significance of Thanksgiving Day:

> *The Bulletin hopes that you have already selected several good causes for thanksgiving and that on October 9, Thanksgiving Day, you will be more literal-minded than a good many and—give thanks. One should really rise on this occasion a little higher than turkey and cranberry sauce, grateful as they are. Whether or not one feels impelled to give thanks depends on one's sense of values. If A has a roof, however simple, and a meal or two ahead, and B has nothing (he is very numerous these days), A has cause for thanks, although he may not feel that way about it, especially if his car is a 1927 model, and his wife's best dress the same. It's a question, as noted, of values. On a world-average, enough to wear, to eat, warmth, a place to sleep, is 1933 riches. Friends, companionship, a little radio, a little music-making, the decencies of ordered, if hard-up, society, are 'velvet.'*[26]

Cameron had a forceful, expressive personality. With his booming voice and big, strong-smelling cigar, he easily dominated the room and

the company. Blessed with tremendous energy and zeal for his causes, he was loved or disliked, but not ignored. His passion was music, which he regarded not so much as an end in itself, but rather as a means of achieving an appreciation of the higher values of civilisation. Cameron had a gift for capturing the poetry in an experience or event. What better way to describe, for example, the mood that overtakes a school in the spring as the weather warms up and final examinations approach, than the following: "For two or three weeks the College grounds, looking the very and floweriest best, have been dotted with examination candidates, soaking in a final equation, a mean surd, a date, an irregular verb, against the immediate and printed need."[27]

When Cameron, a lifelong bachelor without any close relatives, died in 1963, a group of his friends put his financial affairs in order and arranged a memorial service. A special choir was assembled, bringing together those who had sung under his direction at Knox Church. Perhaps the high point of the service was reached towards the end when the choir "burst into the glorious lines of the hymn, 'All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name.'"[28]

When Dan Cameron and Knight Wilson joined the conservatory in 1923, their careers still lay before them. Nonetheless, the director must have immediately realised their value as allies in helping him make the conservatory the dominant musical centre for Regina and Saskatchewan. Killmaster set to work on several fronts. He gave priority not only to senior vocal and instrumental work, but also to junior instruction. Since the junior students of today are the senior students of tomorrow, it made sense for the conservatory to guard its future by maintaining a strong junior department. Killmaster even upbraided members of the board of governors who sent their children for music lessons to piano teachers outside the college. Those who failed to give the conservatory the support it deserved were, in Killmaster's opinion, remiss in their duty.[29]

In addition to emphasizing the need for a strong junior department, the director identified a way to increase both the reputation and the financial welfare of the conservatory. Regina College music students had traditionally been examined and awarded certificates by either McGill University Conservatory or the Toronto Royal Conservatory. Killmaster thought the time had come for the Regina conservatory to prepare its own syllabus, give its own examinations, and issue its own diplomas. The money paid in examination fees would then stay at home rather than being sent to eastern Canada. Killmaster achieved his goal in 1924 when the Regina conservatory became an examination centre. The fact that students could now be tested locally according to requirements laid down by the Regina faculty implied a higher status for the conservatory as a centre for musical training. Music teachers in various parts of Saskatchewan could instruct their students

according to the Regina conservatory syllabus to sit for examinations administered by the Regina faculty. Examinations were held in such towns as Prince Albert, Strasbourg, Wolseley, Arcola, Abernethy, Summerberry and Milden, to name but a few.[30] Regina began to give leadership to the rest of the province. Killmaster hoped the trend would continue so that one day his conservatory would occupy the same position in the west as that held by Toronto in eastern Canada.

Killmaster introduced innovations in the curriculum, for example, classes in aural training, sight singing and musical pedagogy. The Regina conservatory took pride in being one of the first schools in the country to offer such classes.[31] In 1928 the conservatory initiated a summer music school, bringing in as guest instructors Miss Kathleen Parlow, violinist of considerable reputation, and Howard Brockway, a pianist with the New York Institute of Musical Art and the Juilliard Foundation.[32]

Killmaster gave strong and energetic leadership. When he resigned the directorship in 1928, he left a more firmly established institution than the one he had found. The choice of a successor fell on Cyril Hampshire, a dapper Englishman born in Wakefield, Yorkshire, who served the college with distinction until his retirement in 1935. Hampshire had been professor of piano and theory at Leeds College in England before emigrating to Canada in 1921. In an effort to improve his health, he took up farming in the Canora district of Saskatchewan. The idea of the refined and gentlemanly Hampshire working the land is hard to imagine, and, not surprisingly, the experiment did not last very long. He soon accepted an appointment as organist and choirmaster at St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Moose Jaw. From there he moved to Knox United Church, Calgary, before finally coming in 1928 to the conservatory.[33]

Not long after Hampshire's arrival, a major event occurred in the history of Regina College, the opening of the F.N. Darke Music and Art Building. F.N. Darke was a butcher by trade who amassed a considerable fortune in real estate and other investments. His Methodist conscience inspired a desire to return to the community a portion of the wealth he had earned from it. Thus in 1924 Darke conveyed to Regina College property and securities valued at $100,000 for the purpose of erecting a music and art building. He specifically designated the gift for all the people of Regina, not just the college students. When the contract for the building was let in 1928 for $124,185, the original donation did not quite cover the cost. Darke generously agreed to make the necessary supplemental funds available. The college paid only for the utilities, while a Chicago philanthropist, Samuel Insull, agreed to equip the hall with seats.[34] Ambrose C. Froom, a member of the board of governors and friend of the college, donated a magnificent Cassavant pipe organ as a memorial to his son, a

Royal Air Force pilot who had been killed in a practice flight.[35] J.H. Puntin, the architect responsible for the girls' residence, the tower, and the gymnasium, designed a building of brown brick and Tyndall stone with a seating capacity of one thousand. The basement contained space for twelve music studios, which greatly relieved the congestion in the conservatory.[36]

On Sunday, 6 January 1929, Darke Hall was formally dedicated to "Music and Art for the enrichment of the lives of the students of this College and of the people of this city." The Reverend J.A. MacKeigan delivered the main address, entitled "The Value of Music and Art to a Nation," in which he stated that Darke Hall completed the trinity of essentials for the well-being of a community—industry, government, and art. The building represented the quest for the beautiful: "We need artists to teach the beautiful."[37]

Other celebratory events marked the opening of what one newspaperman called "a temple to music and art." A college banquet honoured the man whose money had made it all possible. Seated at the head table were the Honourable J.G. Gardiner, Premier of Saskatchewan, Dr. J.T.M. Anderson, the future premier, Chief Justice W.M. Martin, and President Walter Murray of the University of Saskatchewan. The faculty of the conservatory presented the first full concert in Darke Hall on 16 January 1929.[38]

One more inaugural event remained, the dedicatory recital for the organ. The representative of Cassavant Frères of St. Hyacinthe, Quebec, Canada's best known organ-building firm, completed the installation in June 1929. To play the recital, the college had the good fortune of engaging Marcel Dupré, considered by many to be the greatest organ virtuoso since Bach himself.[39] Dupré attracted worldwide attention early in 1920 by the unprecedented feat of performing from memory two hundred works of Bach in ten organ recitals on successive Fridays. On 21 November 1921 he made his American debut in New York, dazzling his audience by improvising a four movement symphony (later published as the Passion Symphony) on themes given him by several musicians present. Making seven North American tours in the 1920s and 1930s, he firmly established himself as the world's greatest organist.[40] Regina College scored a coup in having such a distinguished musician dedicate the Darke Hall organ.[41]

In the first year of the operation of the hall, the conservatory sponsored a series of free Sunday afternoon concerts for the general public. This was in keeping with Darke's professed desire to confer a cultural benefit upon his fellow citizens. Cyril Hampshire, the director of the conservatory and an accomplished organist, did justice to the occasion: "While the sun going down sent long shafts of light into the quiet of the Darke building Sunday afternoon, floods of organ music were released...."[42]

Darke Hall became a focal point of cultural life in the city. One way of appreciating this point is simply to list some of the events held in the building. The year 1933 saw the province of Saskatchewan wasted by the most severe depression in its history, hardly an auspicious time for music, drama and art. Nonetheless, Darke Hall presented a full calendar of concerts, plays, opera and other artistic performances. On 30 January 1933, the Musical Art Trio, made up of Cyril Hampshire, Knight Wilson, and Mrs. Sinclair, appeared in concert. Ernest Seitz, a distinguished Canadian pianist, gave a recital on 6 February. A touring English theatrical company presented on 10 and 11 February a comedy entitled *The Queen's Husband*, and George Bernard Shaw's most recent play, *Too True to be Good*. Beginning 16 February and running for six evenings, the Regina Federation of Young People (made up of young people's societies from various churches) staged the Biblical drama, *Pharaoh's Daughter*. Four members of the conservatory faculty, Martha J. Somerville, pianist, Dan Cameron, baritone, Knight Wilson, violinist, and Cyril Hampshire, organist, were in recital on 27 March. On 1 April the Regina Amateur Operatic Society, put on *The Pirates of Penzance*. The Regina Symphony Orchestra conducted by Knight Wilson, appeared 3 April in their fifth and final concert of the season. The next night, a senior violin student at the conservatory took the stage. Senior students of Miss Somerville, teacher of piano, and Mrs. Amy Westmoreland, director of the Expression Department, gave a recital on 10 April.[43] The Regina Male Voice Choir, directed by Dan Cameron, presented its annual Easter concert a week later. On 24 and 25 April, the Regina Little Theatre Society, with Mrs. W. Knight Wilson in a leading role, mounted its production of *A Scrape o' the Pen*. Students of Mr. Hampshire and Mrs. Westmoreland performed on 27 and 28 April. This long list of events covered only about two months of the calendar of activities taking place in Darke Hall in 1933 and testified to the richness of cultural life in Regina in the midst of the depression.

The performances given in Darke Hall fell into three categories: those presented by touring companies and visiting artists, those presented by local organisations like the Regina Symphony or the Regina Amateur Operatic Society, and those presented by the students and staff of the conservatory. With respect to the first group, Regina in the 1920s and 1930s played host to an impressive number of international celebrities of the music world. The 1929 visit of Marcel Dupré, who had also appeared in Regina in 1922 and 1923, has already been mentioned. Another visitor was Madame Galli-Curci, the great Italian soprano who sang with the Chicago Opera Company and the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York. Her recordings enjoyed an enormous vogue in the 1920s, placing her on the same level as Caruso and McCormack as one of the supreme gramophone stars of the period.[44] Fritz Kreisler, the virtuoso violinist,

created a sensation when he played in Regina in 1934:

> *[Metropolitan] Church was packed to the doors, with hundreds standing up and glad to do so, to do anything in fact, to hear the great man in person. And he was just as wonderful as we thought he would be, calm, dignified, doing impossible things without the least effort and by some magic means imbuing familiar numbers with something that seemed to dissolve you, inside. It was a great night, the greatest in Regina in years.*[45]

Apart from the concerts of guest artists, Regina's own musicians kept up a busy schedule of public performances. The conservatory presented twenty-four recitals in a single season (1930-31), enough to satisfy even the most avid concert-goer. The conservatory also sponsored lectures, for example, a series in 1933 given by Cyril Hampshire on the theme of "Musical Appreciation." Professor Arthur Collingwood of the University of Saskatchewan frequently lectured on such topics as the life and work of the great composers. Another aspect of conservatory life revolved around the studio clubs, each of which was led by a member of the music faculty. The *Conservatory Students' Bulletin*, for example, advertised in 1933 the "Jubal Club," under Miss Isabel Pease, which met once a month to hear a paper, with pianistic illustrations, on a selected composer. Mrs. Alicia Birkett's studio club adopted for its subject English and continental classics, while Mrs. Amy Westmoreland's group studied "Expression Work Abroad." This was but a sample of the varied work done by the studio clubs.[46]

Although the conservatory functioned as the main focus of musicmaking, Regina in the 1920s and 1930s boasted a large number of musical groups and societies organised outside of the conservatory. Dan Cameron completed a roster in 1931: The Regina Choral Society, the Regina Symphony Orchestra, the Regina Male Voice Choir, the Queen City Classics Male Voice Chair, the Laubach Memorial Ladies' Choir, the Regina Women's Musical Club, the Orpheus Club, the Regina Amateur Operatic Society, the Hoole Musical Club, not to mention the church choirs.[47] Even though these organisations had a separate existence, they still felt in a variety of ways the ubiquitous influence of the conservatory. The musical staff did not confine themselves within the four walls of the college, but rather reached out into the community. The tradition of community involvement began with the first director, Dr. J.E. Hodgson, who supplemented his conservatory duties by conducting a symphony orchestra and a choral society. W. Knight Wilson led the Regina Symphony Orchestra, Dan Cameron directed the Male Voice Choir, and Cyril Hampshire led the Philharmonic Society. Wilson, Cameron and Hampshire all participated in the productions of the Regina Amateur Operatic Society.

Hampshire (and before him, Killmaster) conducted the Metropolitan Church choir, Cameron was choirmaster at Knox Church, and George Coutts, another prominent member of the faculty, was choirmaster and organist at First Baptist Church. Coutts also directed the Regina Choral Society, conducted the Regina Amateur Operatic Society, and played in the Regina Symphony.[48] Cyril Hampshire demonstrated his public spirit and his willingness to mingle with a non-academic and non-musical crowd by joining the Kiwanis Club. He invariably took a leading role in the Kiwanis musical productions to raise money for the Underprivileged Boys' Fund.

This account of community involvement on the part of the music faculty cannot be exhaustive, but another area deserves mention. The instructors at the conservatory, particularly Dan Cameron, made a substantial contribution to the success of the music festival movement. Hampshire, Wilson and Cameron travelled to places like Carlyle, North Battleford and Prince Albert, where they adjudicated the local festivals. They tried to help out in other ways, too. In 1934 we find the three men driving out to Indian Head to put on a concert in the United Church to help the local festival committee raise some money. As Cameron later recounted, "The visitors were entertained after the concert by the choir executive and then drove home in the moonlight. Record for the trip, one flat (tire)."[49] Cameron's love for the music festival experience shines through in his account of the 1935 competition:

> *The Editor [Cameron] was there for the three days, rushing around from church to church, picking off highlights for the press, and renewing those once-a-year friendships which are so delightful a factor in the Saskatchewan Musical Association's pattern. Most of the [conservatory] staff were on the job for at least part of the time, looking after students, playing accompaniments, and doing their own share of the talking.*
>
> *The festival is one of the pleasantest and yet most trying experiences we have. The days are so crowded, the events so numerous, the interests so diversified, the meals so scattered, the tension so as it were tense. Did So and So win the Soprano, Class A? I'm sorry, I just missed that. I had to go over to hear the other people. Yes, I heard part of it, but the adjudicator took so long giving his adjudications that I couldn't wait. Oh, no! I thought she was terrible. Why, she didn't have the faintest idea what it was all about. And her accompanist. Dear, dear! You know the way it goes....*[50]

Cameron characterized the music festival movement as "a popular extension of the conservatory ideal." The members of the staff acted as

adjudicators, did organisational work, and "faced the glare" as conductors. The conservatory students often excelled in competition. In the 1934 provincial festival, for example, they won eleven of nineteen awards won by the southern district.[51] Former students were often the backbone of the local music festival organisation in Indian Head, Weyburn, Yorkton and many other small towns.

The importance of the Regina College Conservatory of Music to Regina and the surrounding area was obvious. When the city had a special event to celebrate, it drew upon the music faculty to lend lustre to the occasion. A case in point was the 1933 World Grain Exhibition for which Cyril Hampshire put together a massed chorus, composed of singers from the various choral groups in the city, and, in combination with W. Knight Wilson's Regina Symphony Orchestra, presented a gala concert. The audience, undeterred by the sweltering July heat, packed the Armories and, according to the press reports, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. During the Grain Exhibition, the evening program every night featured a magnificent production of the "Triumphal Scene" from Verdi's *Aida*. Dan Cameron selected and trained a chorus of eighty Regina singers to support the guest soloists.[52] The conservatory helped make the Exhibition one of the brighter spots in a gloomy decade of depression. As an integral part of the community, the conservatory shared in the bad times as well as the good. In 1931 two members of the faculty, Mrs. Edna Hawkin and Cyril Hampshire, played a concert of Mozart, Ravel, Saint-Saens, and Rachmaninoff to raise money for farmers hit hard by drought and low wheat prices. This event symbolised as well as any other what the conservatory was all about.[53]

Until 1930 the University of Saskatchewan did not challenge the supremacy of Regina in the music field. A grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York changed the situation because the university used the money to establish a Chair of Music. The first occupant was Arthur Collingwood, FRCO, FTCL, for several years a lecturer at Marischall College, Aberdeen, Scotland, and an adjudicator in great demand in British festivals. Collingwood taught classes to Arts students taking music as an elective, conducted examinations for the diploma of Associate and Licentiate and for the degree of Bachelor of Music, and offered courses of instruction in history and advanced theory to candidates preparing for these examinations.

President Walter Murray expressed his wish for cooperation rather than competition with Regina for the advancement of musical education.[54] The university and Regina College accordingly reached an understanding in 1932 for close collaboration. Local examinations in music were supervised by a joint board composed of representatives from both

institutions. Regina College received a guarantee of $1,000 a year in revenue from the examination fees as well as half the profits in excess of $1,000. The university promised to send Professor Collingwood to give lectures to the advanced students at the conservatory on two days of each month, the travelling expenses being borne by the university. The university also recognised the instruction at the conservatory as sufficient to prepare students for the Associate and Licentiate diplomas as well as the Bachelor of Music degree. The university agreed that examinations up to the level of the degree would be held in Regina College. The agreement even covered the small point that the college had the right to insert the name "Regina College Conservatory of Music" in the diplomas awarded by the university to students trained at the conservatory. Finally, as a gesture of cooperation and good will, the university supported an application by the conservatory to the Carnegie Corporation for a substantial grant. As a result, the college received $15,000, paid in three annual instalments. The conservatory spent the money on extension work, especially in the southern half of the province, and on a periodical edited by Dan Cameron.[55]

In entering into this arrangement with the university, the conservatory embarked upon a new era. The relationship became even closer in 1934 when the university took control of the whole college. Whether the conservatory would be able to uphold its fine reputation and its dominant position while tied to the University of Saskatchewan remained an open question.

In the fine arts, music was the chief claim to fame for Regina College, but other arts were not entirely neglected. In 1914 the Department of Art and Expression was established because of "a feeling that the College would not be complete in its work, or complete in its contribution to the Educational Development of the Country, without some provision for what has been aptly termed the Science of Aesthetics."[56] The expression or elocution classes included public reading and speaking, voice, and physical culture. They aimed to produce "the pure, clear musical voice that is a perfectly responsive agent for the expression of thought," "a good carriage of head and chest with perfect freedom of limbs," and "poise and grace on the platform and in other work."[57] Needless to say, most of the students were girls.

Through the efforts of Mrs. Amy Westmoreland, who assumed the directorship of the expression department in 1928, Regina College affiliated with the Emerson College of Oratory in Boston. A student who completed two years of study at Regina College could then enter the final two years at Emerson for the Bachelor of Literary Interpretation (BLI) degree. The popular expression course attracted 131 students in 1930.[58] The students even devised their own school yell, in which "EC" stood for "Expression Class," "Enthusiasm and Cooperation," and "Emerson College":

EC, EC, (EC)2
Elocution well prepared,
Consonants, vowels, and pantomime
Regina, Emerson in Combine
O-R-A-T-O-R-Y
Oratory[59]

The expression department offered special classes for youngsters aged four to twelve. According to Mrs. Westmoreland, all children were naturally creative, and training in expression, adjusted to the "rhythmic, imaginative, and nervic [*sic*] stages of childhood," enhanced this innate creativity. In 1929, thirty-five children were enrolled in creative dramatics. Mrs. Westmoreland also organised public speaking classes for the nurses at Regina General Hospital, the business girls at the Settlement House, and the Canadian Girls in Training, a United Church girls' group.[60] Women in the community signed up for Mrs. Westmoreland's Expression Club. They organised elaborate programs around selected themes, such as "The Spanish Influence in North America":

> *The spacious common room of the college lent itself admirably to the representation of the life of the grandees of Spain and Old Mexico. The program opened with a little playlet, 'Columbus Before Isabella,' Mrs. W.H. Ross acting as chronicler. Queen Isabella (Mrs. Bell) dressed in a royal robe of hunter's green velvet and ermine, and attended by her page (Miss Olie Melrose Bell) was seated in her chair of state. The other characters, dressed in costumes representative of the period, were Christopher Columbus, Miss Fern Graham; Fra Talavera and Quintinella, Mrs. C.W. Parker; Santangel, minister of Aragon, Mrs. J.M. MacKay.*
>
> *A short review of 'The Spaniards' Arrival on the East and West Coasts of North America' was given by Mrs. Bell. 'The Story of Ancient Mexico and Its People,' by Mrs. Parker, and 'A Mexican Corrida,' by Mrs. Bell, made a fitting prelude to the cutting from Corpus Christi play, 'The Divine Narcissus.' This play by a native-born Mexican woman, Juana Ynez de la Crus, (who took the vows of sisterhood when quite a young woman and is known as 'The Mexican nun') was written in the 17th century. It is in an allegorical style and was presented in a sylvan setting and simple Grecian costumes. The characters were Human Nature, Mrs. MacKay; Grace, Fern Graham; Narcissus, Mrs. Parker; Echo, Mrs. Bell; and historian, Mrs. Ross. . . .*[61]

Not all members of the Regina College faculty could take the study of expression completely seriously. On one occasion, W.A. Riddell, the chemistry instructor, and Cyril Hampshire, the director of the conservatory, accompanied a dramatic recitation by Mrs. Westmoreland of "King Robert of Sicily." Riddell played the organ at the front of the stage from a vantage point that allowed him to see both Mrs. Westmoreland and Hampshire, who was seated at the piano at the back of the stage. Mr. Hampshire, though visible to Riddell and the audience, was not in the line of vision of the elocutionist. When Mrs. Westmoreland launched into the melodramatic passages, Cyril Hampshire, whose sense of humour was always close to the surface, could not help himself. His exaggerated gestures and facial expressions convulsed the audience and nearly put the pianist out of action.[62]

When Regina College began teaching expression classes in 1914, it also offered instruction in art. The calendar advertised classes in oil, water colour, pastel, china painting, and drawing in pen, pencil and charcoal. The subjects included "Still Life, Flowers, Fruits, Birds and Animals, Landscapes, Figures, and Silk and Satin Decorations."[63] The art school experienced a major boost in 1916 when Inglis Sheldon-Williams joined the staff. Born in Hampshire, England, in 1870, Sheldon-Williams emigrated to Canada in 1887. He had a romantic vision of the west: "I rejoice in the open life, the beauty of great expanses under always changing conditions, the storm clouds, the sunsets, the importunate stillness of the night."[64] His paintings, such as *The Blizzard*, *After the Storm* and *Grain Elevators and Boxcars on the Prairie*, established him as one of the most important of Saskatchewan's early artists. Unfortunately, Sheldon-Williams was called away in 1918 by the Canadian government to paint for the Canadian War Memorial Commission.[65] The teaching of art continued intermittently at Regina College in the following years. From time to time, the college obtained the services of well-qualified people like J.H. Lee-Grayson and W.G. Hazard, but in other years no classes were offered.[66] Only in the 1930s was the art school established on a firm and permanent basis.

Aside from formal classes, Dr. and Mrs. Stapleford made a point of promoting interest in and appreciation of art among the students. When the Staplefords entertained in their suite, they showed their art collection to the students and discussed the paintings. Mrs. Stapleford made sure that good paintings hung on the walls of the reception rooms and corridors of the college. In this respect the Women's Educational Club made a noteworthy contribution. The club traced its origins back to 1913 when it was organised "with the object of beautifying the interior of Regina College." The women began to raise money through membership fees and the admission charged at concerts, but the outbreak of World War

I temporarily interrupted their plans. Rather than spending money on art, the members decided to support local relief work. They ingeniously combined their interest in art with their interest in what was happening on the battlefields by studying at their meetings the art of the cities where the fighting was taking place. For example, during the time of the invasion of Antwerp, Mrs. Milliken, the wife of the college president, read a paper about the artist Rubens. At the end of the war, the Women's Educational Club returned to its initial purpose of purchasing works of art for the college. On the advice of reputable dealers, they bought oil paintings by Canadian artists, which now form a part of the University of Regina art collection. The canvasses which have appreciated in value include *North Saskatchewan River*, by Augustus Kenderdine, *Winter Landscape*, by James Henderson, *Mitchell Lake, Algoma*, by G.A. Reid and *Windy Weather*, by F. McGillivray Knowles.[67]

Former Lieutenant Governor George W. Brown presented Albani's *The Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt* to the college in 1919. In accepting the gift which, incidentally, later proved to be wrongly attributed to Albani, President Stapleford expressed the hope that one day Regina would have an art gallery. In the meantime, Regina College often made space available for art exhibitions. About 130 paintings assembled by the art committee of the Local Council of Women from forty private collections in the city were put on display in 1920. Another exhibition featured works by members of the Ontario Society of Artists.[68] Finally, in 1953, what President Stapleford had anticipated in 1919 came to pass, when the Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery opened.

As has been made clear, art and music were central to the life of Regina College. Before television and radio, students from isolated rural communities had few cultural opportunities. Regina College exposed them for the first time to good music and art. At a time when Saskatchewan had barely passed out of the pioneer stage, Regina College introduced young people and the general public to the wider life of the arts. Musicians like J.E. Hodgson, Golan Hoole, Frederick Killmaster, Cyril Hampshire, W. Knight Wilson, and Dan Cameron gave significant community leadership. The Conservatory of Music trained thousands of students, set high standards and brought classical music to prairie homes. Darke Hall made good its claim to be "a temple for the arts," a focal point for concerts, drama, opera, and performances by local as well as visiting artists. In addition, the college in the 1920s cultivated interest in the visual arts, laying the groundwork for the School of Fine Arts and the Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery. Without a doubt, the strong emphasis on music and art made Regina College a better school and the Province of Saskatchewan a better place.

NOTES

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FIVE

STUDENT LIFE: THE IDEAL OF A WELL-ROUNDED EDUCATION

"The aim was to impart not only the desired scholarship but at the same time the refinement and Christian character which is so essential to the full-orbed man or woman."

Students make a college. The board of governors holds meetings, raises money, erects buildings, and hires faculty, but without students there is no college. Why did students choose to come to Regina College? Where did they come from and what was their family background? What kind of educational experience did the college give them? The answers to such questions are not always easy to discover. Each student has his or her own story to tell, and no two stories are exactly alike. What one person remembers as though the event happened yesterday, another person has completely forgotten. Some cherish their years at college as a wonderful, stimulating time of self-discovery and expanding horizons. They remember the names of all of their teachers and friends and still keep in touch with some of them. They have fond memories of performing in the school play, winning a spot on the championship basketball team, carrying their girlfriend's skates to the ice rink, and laughing at Professor Doxsee's Latin jokes. Others have only the dimmest recollection or prefer to forget years spent at college. They recall homesickness, not really liking their roommates, and resenting the strict rules imposed on them in residence. Despite individual differences, however, some college experiences were shared in common. Traditions and rituals developed, the rhythms and patterns of the community life were established, and that indefinable emotion known as "college spirit" began to be felt. Regina College became more than a building with people in it. It stood for something and touched the lives of the students and teachers in a meaningful way.

The character of Regina College arose from its connection with first the Methodist and then the United Church. The school aspired to provide a sound Christian education, encompassing the intellectual, spiritual, social and physical development of the students. The calendar summed up the college's mission:

A good education consists not only in a sound body of information but in a well-trained mind. Through Bible study

groups and the Chapel services is laid a secure foundation of religious truth. The College is a co-educational, residential institution and thus has an opportunity of developing in the best manner the social life of its students. The spacious campus, the gymnasium, the regular classes in physical work give ample testimony to the importance which the College attaches to the physical well-being of its students.[1]

Strength of conviction and clarity of purpose—to build character and create good citizens—came from the church. Christian ideals imbued all aspects of college life with unity and direction.

An important factor influencing the atmosphere of the college and fostering school spirit was the fact that, until the 1930s, most academic students lived in residence. In 1919, only thirteen of the 168 academic students were day students whose parents lived in Regina. The rules forbade out-of-town students from seeking room and board in a private home if space was available in the residence. The college found it could maintain better discipline when the students stayed in the residence. Otherwise, the non-residential students came to class in the morning telling tales of the adventures of the previous evening, which the residential students had spent in study hall. The great majority of the students fell under the supervision and guidance of the college authorities during every waking hour. As a result, the faculty had an excellent opportunity, both inside and outside the classroom, to shape the development of the student.

The college drew most of its students from the southern part of the province. Young people from Yellow Grass, Viceroy, Vanguard, Rouleau and many other centres left home for the first time, embarking on what seemed to them like a great adventure. Many fourteen-year-olds felt the pangs of homesickness:

I lived in a little hamlet [Markinch] with my father and mother. My mother died of typhoid fever and my father decided to send me to Regina College where I would be disciplined, cared for and perhaps learn something. I can still remember standing at the window of my room watching his car drive away. I thought I would die. Everything went up from there.[2]

After the initial bout of what one student called that "feeling deep down inside akin to the one one has when about to go down a toboggan slide," most students adjusted to their new environment.[3] To prevent newcomers from prematurely deciding that college life was not for them, the regulations prohibited weekend visits home in the first month. In fact, owing to the expense and difficulty of travel, most students did not go home except during Christmas and Easter holidays. Even long distance telephone calls

were a luxury.

Residential students soon got to know one another and friendships formed quickly. Everyone had at least one roommate and, depending on how crowded the college was, sometimes as many as three. The students ate together, took classes together, went to chapel together, played sports together, and walked downtown on Saturday afternoon together. A seating plan for the dining room determined where everyone sat, eight students and one teacher per table. The plan was revised regularly so that the same people did not eat together all the time. Before long, all the students knew each another and merged into a fairly close-knit community.

On the other hand, the wide disparity among the ages of the students must have weakened, to some degree, the cohesiveness of the group. The college taught everything from preparatory courses for those who had not yet passed grade eight to second year university classes. For people in their twenties or thirties who had never been to elementary school, Regina College was the "school of the second chance." They could make rapid progress through the primary grades, obtain their grade eight certificate, and graduate to high school. Such cases were especially common in the early years when rural Saskatchewan had only a rudimentary school system. In 1920 the oldest male student in the residence was thirty-six years of age, while the youngest was thirteen. In the girls' residence in the same year, ages ranged from twelve to twenty-nine. However, despite the wide range, most students were in their mid to late teens. In 1926, 69.4 percent of the 238 students were between sixteen and nineteen years of age; 17.7 percent were fifteen and under; 9 percent were aged twenty to twenty-four; 3.1 percent were between twenty-five and twenty-nine; and .8 percent were thirty and over.[4]

Additional information about the student body was obtained from a questionnaire filled out by ninety-five former students. They attended the college at various times, the first in 1913 and the last in 1938. Interviews were conducted with another ten students, for a total sample of 105. Of the eighty-four students whose parents lived outside of Regina, the large majority came from farm homes. The remainder of fathers' occupations, indicated in Table 2 varied widely from storekeeper to United Church minister. Generally speaking, the college drew its rural clientele primarily from the farm and to a lesser extent from the business and professional classes. The students from Regina presented a different occupational pattern. Table 3 reveals that the fathers of many of these students held positions as business executives or professionals. Only one student's father in the sample had the *bona fide* working-class job of construction worker.

TABLE 2

FATHER'S OCCUPATION OF A SAMPLE OF REGINA COLLEGE STUDENTS

FROM POINTS OUTSIDE REGINA, 1913-1938

farmer	57
storekeeper	5
United Church minister	6
doctor	3
real estate/insurance	2
lawyer	1
butcher	1
druggist	1
CPR station agent	1
CPR operating management	1
grain buyer	1
mail and express man	1
town clerk	1
secretary-treasurer rural municipality	1
rancher	1
rancher and merchant	1

Source: University of Regina Archives, Regina College questionnaire.

TABLE 3

FATHER'S OCCUPATION OF A SAMPLE OF REGINA COLLEGE STUDENTS

FROM REGINA, 1913-1938

managerial	6
lawyer	1
chartered accountant	1
legal clerk	1
high school principal	1
high school inspector	1
proprietor Regina Book Store	1
salesman	1
seedsman	1
faculty of Regina College	3
construction worker	1
not given	2

Source: University of Regina Archives, Regina College questionnaire.

Many out-of-town students hailed from areas in the province that lacked high schools. Attending high school in the closest large town necessitated boarding in a private home without proper supervision.

> *There was no high school closer than in Weyburn. My parents preferred to send me to a residential school, rather than boarding in a strange city.*[5]

> *We lived on the farm seven miles from the small poorly equipped, poorly staffed high school in Sceptre. There was no school conveyance provided. Would have had to be driven in and out each day or been provided room and board with a family living in town during the week. Not as many homes open to students, as country students wishing to attend high school.*[6]

> *There was no high school at Kronau. My parents felt it better that I be in residence rather than boarding in a private home.*[7]

Furthermore, the quality of instruction available in a local school often left a great deal to be desired.

> *I expect it was because my parents thought I should have further education and since it would be my first long stay away from home I would perhaps be more sheltered there. The local town school at that time (I say it charitably) did not produce too many successful students.*[8]

> *A grade twelve course was not offered in Saltcoats until 1930 and a series of inadequate teachers during the mid-twenties had resulted in disciplinary problems and failures in numerous subjects.*[9]

> *At the local high school in Mazenod the principal was unable to maintain discipline (several seventeen and eighteen year olds came back to school in the winter just to have a good time).*[10]

Regina College had a reputation for providing good discipline and superior teaching. It had a music program and a full range of extracurricular activities not dreamed of in small town high schools.

> *Regina College had the advantage for me of being closely connected with the Regina Conservatory of Music. Since I wanted to get ahead with my university program, and, at the same time complete the requirements for the ATCM, Regina College seemed the ideal spot to achieve both aims.*[11]

> *Regina Conservatory of Music was well known for the combined excellence of its staff. For starters the names that stand out would be Hampshire, Cameron, Wilson, Record, Sahlmark, etc.*[12]

I think our parents preferred a residential school rather than having us board someplace and attend a collegiate day school. The college offered more than academic subjects—such as sports, music, religious education, supervised social activities and such things as student council.[13]

The college's church affiliation provided an incentive for some parents to enrol their children. President Stapleford, Professor Wagg, and others who stumped the province recruiting students played up this theme, apparently with some success:

In the fall of 1922 Dr. Stapleford came to Gerald Church and outlined the advantages of attending Regina College.[14]

Because Mr. Wagg came around encouraging attendance at the college and my parents felt I was too young to have an apartment of my own.[15]

Because Dr. and Mrs. Stapleford were friends of my parents, and Dr. Stapleford's charming propaganda was very persuasive.[16]

Before church union in 1925, most students were Methodists with lesser numbers of Presbyterians and Anglicans and a scattering of other denominations. In 1917, the records show 140 Methodists, 66 Presbyterians, 28 Anglicans, 16 Roman Catholics, 9 Baptists, and 11 others divided among 7 other denominations.[17] After church union the United Church surpassed by a wide margin all other denominations. In 1926 there were enrolled 200 members of the United Church, 24 Anglicans, 12 Presbyterians, 6 Lutherans, 4 Baptists, 3 Christian Scientists, 3 Roman Catholics and 3 Jews.[18]

In summary, many parents in rural Saskatchewan who wanted more for their children than a primary education had no option but to send them away from home to a bigger centre. Regina College had much to recommend it: a good reputation for academics, a well-rounded social and cultural program, and a church foundation. Most important of all, parents knew their children would be supervised and safe. Some of the questionnaire respondents quoted word for word the slogan used in the advertising: "Your boy or girl will be safe in Regina College." That was the whole idea.

The reasons Regina parents sent their children to Regina College differed from those of rural parents. While rural Saskatchewan lacked adequate educational facilities, Regina had good collegiates where students paid no tuition. However, a certain prestige attached to being able to afford a private school, and some people thought that Regina College offered a program a cut above what was available in the public system. The

occupations of day students' fathers, cited in Table 3, lend support to the hypothesis that the well-to-do patronized the college. The list includes members of the business and professional elite, for example, the managing director of Western Manufacturing Company and the divisional superintendent of Saskatchewan Pool Elevators.

Other parents selected Regina College because it gave closer supervision and enforced stricter discipline than did the collegiates. As a case in point, one student explained that, after a poor performance in grade nine at Central Collegiate, her parents enrolled her in Regina College. There her high spirits were tamed to the extent that she did much better on her grade ten exams. Because of the improvement, her parents allowed her to return to Central Collegiate for grades eleven and twelve.[19] Sometimes Regina College became the solution of last resort for parents at their wits' end trying to control unruly offspring:

> *There were some very high spirited students—especially the day students who lived in Regina and made up the rest of my class. They had been sent to College as a last resort because they boasted they had been kicked out of every collegiate in Regina. Their chief aim was to disrupt the class and the teacher so much that no work could be done—and they did make it very difficult to accomplish much in many of the classes. They did achieve the nervous breakdown of one teacher by Christmas.*[20]

After 1925 the composition of the student body changed in a significant way. Students could now take first year (equivalent to grade twelve or senior matriculation) and second year university classes before heading to Saskatoon or elsewhere for their third and fourth years. This increased the proportion of day students compared with the residential students because many Regina families were glad to keep their children at home for an additional year, saving the expense of board and room. Whereas in 1919, 92 percent of the academic students lived in residence, in 1927 the percentage was 65.5.

Apart from financial considerations, taking second year arts at Regina College allowed a gradual transition from high school to university. The classes were smaller, the students received more individual attention, and the atmosphere was more friendly than at a large, impersonal university. Two Regina students gave their reasons for preferring to take second year arts at the college:

> *An in between step.... I know my whole University life benefited from the year in a relatively small group and that group moved to U of S residences the next year. We had a real nucleus of friends.*[21]

It was a good experience and made me more able to fit into University life. I was very young, and would probably have had social problems at University of Saskatchewan without the year at Regina College. The year was a good year, with memories of fellowship with Regina students and those from outside Regina—and with the faculty.[22]

The parents of one fifteen-year-old placed him in Regina College because they considered him too young for the University of Saskatchewan:

I can't say I look back with any great fondness to my time there [Regina College], but it filled a place in the academic life of the times. It was the first time away from home for many of us and did provide a transition between small-town high schools and university.[23]

For many second year arts students, the choice of Regina College was a matter of sheer financial necessity. One student paid her tuition by working part time as a sales clerk at the S.S. Kresge department store for eighteen cents an hour. Had she not been able to live at home, she would have had to work full time for a year before continuing her schooling.[24] In answer to the question, "Did going to Regina College present a financial strain?", forty-three respondents to the questionnaire replied "yes," thirty-one replied "no," six said "somewhat of a strain," five did not know, and four gave no answer. These results suggest that a large number of students and their parents made heavy sacrifices for the privilege of an education. Young people helped pay their own way by working on the family farm: ploughing, seeding, cultivating, binding, stooking, racking, threshing, hauling, milking, butchering, cooking and baking for the threshing crew. President Stapleford cited the example of a girl who made money for college by breaking up a new quarter section of land, for which her father paid her $4.00 per acre. Boys raised and sold hogs to earn their tuition. Harvest work kept both boys and girls at home until the crop was in the bins. Students, in addition to contributing their labour on the farm or in their father's business, found paying jobs outside the home. Thirty-seven of the ninety-five questionnaire respondents reported such summer or part-time jobs as farm labour, book selling, teaching piano, playing piano in a dance orchestra, section hand for the CPR, supply minister, sales clerk, and clerical work recording the results of Department of Education examinations.

President Stapleford believed strongly that students who had to work to pay for their education appreciated it more. In his opinion, such students not only succeeded in college work "but generally make a far better success in after life than those who were always spoon fed."[25] Perhaps Stapleford

was thinking of the stereoscopic viewers and slides he sold on the streets of London to put himself through college. In any case, he made sure that Regina College hired as many needy students as possible to work as librarians, lab instructors, janitors, and waiters in the dining room. Landing a job as a waiter could make the difference between being able to afford college or not. James M. Minifie considered the work a godsend:

> *To save time, I stimulated my three tables to competitive eating. First table out got a bigger helping next meal. This reduced the time I had to cut from my schedule of studies. It may not have been the best for my charges' digestion, but nobody complained. I staggered through the crowded dining room with a tray piled high with dishes, and learned how to carry eight cups of coffee at once. My one catastrophe came when I was entrusted with an extra shift with the College's fanciest china for an afternoon tea designed to put the bite on the Ladies' Auxiliary. With a tray loaded with the special china tea-service, I slipped on a wet patch, and crashed in a heap of shards, bread and butter, and jam.*[26]

The waiters, sporting white jackets and black bow ties, developed a special *esprit de corps*. They even had their own yell:

> *Splatter and clash,*
> *Slinga da hash*
> *Smasha da dish and twirla moustache:*
> *Loopa da loop*
> *Spilla da soup*
> *Winka da lady and no giva da whoop*
> *College waiters*
> *Rah! Rah! Rah!*

A section of the college yearbook was devoted to the waiters, one of whom was notorious for his one-track mind and single topic of conversation—women. Another devoted "his leisure hours to the study of socialism, which body he hopes to lead to glory within the next few years." Two waiters were known to "sit side by side, and eat and talk more than any ten men should. They have missed their calling, as they should have been Hudson-Essex car dealers, since they think it is the only car made." Finally there was the waiter "whom we think as being homesick, since he is always blowing on his home town's horn."[27] The waiters seemed a lively crew who divided their time equally between hard work and fooling around.

In terms of wealth and class, the students came from varied backgrounds. Some were fresh off the farm with little or no experience of city life and with barely enough money to make ends meet. Others belonged to wealthy and prominent Regina families:

We were a mixed bag. Several of us, at the sophomore level, were quite young. I was fifteen, two of the others were sixteen, and our parents felt we were too young to be sent to Saskatoon. Then there were the high school students. Some were from wealthier families, sent there as a form of prestige. Then there were those who didn't fit in the public school system. Bed-wetters, one was an epileptic, another an older ex-cowboy trying to complete his grade twelve. Plus of course the regular types.[28]

Despite the differences in social class and background, an egalitarian spirit prevailed. The college rules curbed extravagant spending, parents being reminded that "a large amount of spending money is injurious to students." Allowances were not sent directly to the students, but rather to the central office. Each week the student could withdraw a fixed sum, specified by the parents and approved by the dean.[29] The college discouraged snobbishness and the making of invidious distinctions. A student from a well-to-do Regina family recalled: "The social mix in the school worked fine. The city people did not make fun of the country people. . . . We were *all* unsophisticated, naive and innocent then."[30] According to another, "Some students came from more well-to-do homes and had more choice and variety in their clothes than the average, but I don't remember it as being important."[31]

All students, whatever their background, were subjected to the same regimen, the purpose of which was to instil Christian values and to build strong character. The college continually upheld the ideal of the well-rounded person. A sermon delivered in 1922 outlined four different types of students: a very clever scholar who always placed highest in the examinations; a champion athlete; a theological student; and a very likeable and socially successful fellow. None of these students, after leaving school, "made good" in the world because each in his own way was too narrow and one-sided. A fifth student captained the football team, scored high in his class work, was well-liked by his fellows, and was not afraid to raise his voice in prayer at meetings of the Student Christian Association. Needless to say, this paragon enjoyed success in later life.[32]

The same moral lay behind an editorial in the college yearbook entitled "Boys' Sports." The writer contrasted two types, the physical prodigy and the mental prodigy. The former was

the ideal athlete, he of the cigarette lip and the loud voice; how often is he the hero, admired and worshipped! How often is his example followed by all the small boys with results that we know. But he, the example of a wasted development, the living representative of the wine, women and song class, he is to be

pitied; not for himself but for the fact that God Almighty put into such a perfect physical chassis such an inadequate mental machine, which at first perhaps runs smoothly but in a short time sputters, cracks, and then fades out miserably.

The mental prodigy fared no better:

he of the whiskers, the sloping intellectual brow—the thin, nervous, effeminate man, who thinks, eats and sleeps 'learning' . . . . His brain is overdeveloped for his body. He has a 60 horsepower motor inside a 15 horsepower chassis; with what result? In a very short while he becomes worked out—a nervous wreck—and the world loses whatever benefit it might have obtained from his amassed knowledge.

No, the answer lay in neither extreme, but in balance and moderation:

He is a man whose mental and physical parts are in accord; he is the machine in which chassis and motor are evenly balanced. When he comes to a mud hole his engine is powerful enough to either back up or plow through and land himself safely on the other side. Upon over-exertion of his motor the chassis does not crack, splinter or crumple, but is well able to stand the vibrating strain put upon it.[33]

The somewhat strained automotive metaphor expressed a cardinal principle of Regina College, namely, that complete education involved the intellectual, spiritual, social and physical formation of youth.

The women's dean declared in 1925, "The work of the classroom has been given first place. . . ." The men's dean agreed: "One of the fine things with regard to our sport is that it does not interfere with the students' studies. We believe in a place for everything and everything in its place."[34] Both statements affirmed the uncompromising emphasis placed on academic achievement. Classes were scheduled from 8:40 a.m. to 12:00 noon and from 1:30 to 4:00 p.m. If a student had a spare, he spent the time studying in the library. All the residence students attended compulsory study hall every evening, Monday to Friday from 7:30 to 9:45 p.m. The only students excused were second year university students, those aged twenty or more, and those with averages above 60 percent. The latter were allowed to study in their rooms, while a teacher patrolled the halls making sure that everyone was working. Half-way through the study period, a box of apples appeared and a bell announced a fifteen-minute break. A former student remembers keenly the humiliation she felt when her room study privileges were taken away. She and two friends, thinking the teacher on their floor had gone out, decided to have some fun. The teacher was actually sitting in her room

with the lights out, listening intently for sounds of misbehaviour. After a while the girls returned to their books, at which point the teacher came out of her room, coldly cancelled room study privileges, and sent the girls to study hall.[35]

High school students today would probably rebel against such discipline, but Regina College took academic performance very seriously and demanded results. The progress of students was carefully monitored by means of frequent examinations. The faculty met once a week to review test results and identify the students who needed help or encouragement to do better. Teachers put in extra hours tutoring students who were having trouble or falling behind in certain subjects. According to the academic dean, these efforts made a real difference in the final grades:

> *We have perhaps had a larger proportion than usual of students who, at the beginning of the term, were backward in some subjects. Special classes have been conducted for these by the teachers from the beginning of the year, with the result that we approach the close of the year with fewer students who, because of inadequate foundation, are doomed to failure.*[36]

The results of end-of-term examinations held at Christmas, Easter and in June were published for all to see in the Regina *Leader*. This gave recognition to the top students and put pressure on the under-achievers. Most extracurricular activities wound up by Easter to give the students several weeks to concentrate fully on preparing for finals. Hard work and academic diligence paid off. Regina College students who wrote Department of Education final examinations in June 1930 passed 79.5 percent of all papers written. Students writing finals set by the University of Saskatchewan passed 87.5 percent of the examinations. The registrar compiled figures in 1933 showing that Regina College students, who accounted for 37.7 percent of the junior college students taking university examinations, made up 49.9 percent of those scoring higher than 70 percent.[37]

Hilda Neatby, one of Canada's best historians, held the opinion that academic standards at Regina College were high compared to those prevailing generally in Saskatchewan's education system. She deplored the fact that incoming students had never been taught to exert their minds in the least:

> *I am getting more and more depressed about the educational system in this province. Several high school teachers that I have talked to say that the departmental standards have gone down terribly. They always have students that they rate absolute failures who get by easily in June. The great difficulty, apparently, is to fail. The result is that the better students come*

in here, not only accustomed to being spoon-fed, but without the faintest idea of how to think or even how to work. One day last week a boy stopped me in lecture and said in an exasperated tone, 'Are these points you are giving in the text?' He had evidently just started to read his text and was beginning to realize that the lectures were different. I am beginning to understand why so many of them sit and gape without attempting to take notes.[38]

The students themselves seemed to esteem academic achievement. The women's dean in 1912 even had to advise her charges to refrain from studying too much: "The application to their studies of the students had been excellent, a number of students working harder than is advisable."[39] Young people who passed through the Regina College system learned study habits that stood them in good stead in later years:

It was an excellent school with good teachers. I learned how to apply myself and how to study for the first time while there. I felt afterward that I owed a great deal to this training and to learning for the first time what it meant to be a 'student'. . . . To sum up my feeling about Regina College, I think what I learned about good study habits had a marked effect upon my later life, even influencing the way our children were educated. When we found at the Junior High level in Burnaby that no good study habits were formed (they were called 'squares' if they so much as did their homework) and that they had no experience in writing final exams, we had each of them attend a private school where there was a much greater incentive for them to work.[40]

Regina College honoured and took pride in intellectual achievement, but not to the exclusion of everything else. The aim was to impart "not only the desired scholarship but at the same time the refinement and Christian character which is so essential to the full-orbed man or woman."[41] Religious training was intended to be earnest, but devoid of sectarian spirit. The college proudly drew attention to the fact that the first class in 1911 had students from eight different religious denominations, while among the faculty four denominations were represented.[42]

The rules required Sunday morning church attendance. Although most students went to the Methodist or United Church, those from other denominations could attend the church indicated by their parents or guardian. The girls from the residence walked to Metropolitan Methodist (later United) Church "in line," that is, in pairs with a teacher at the front of the line and another teacher at the back. Regina citizens grew accustomed

to the sight of seventy or more girls marching down Scarch Street on their way to church on Sunday morning. Some girls felt embarrassed:

> *We went in line, and I hated it. I had gone to Sunday School and Church all my life and enjoyed it. I hated that going to church in line so much that when I went to University I quit going to church entirely and it wasn't until I married and had children that I went back to church.*[43]

Others overcame their initial dislike of the "line": "Passers-by in cars embarrassed me at first, but then I learned to walk proudly to represent my college."[44] The college strictly enforced church attendance, making an exception only in the event of illness verified by a note from the nurse. Incidents like the following were rare:

> *One beautiful morning on our way to church a friend and I thought it would be nice if we could just enjoy the 'out-of-doors.' So we decided that I should get sick in church and she would take me out. So that's what we did. We took our time walking back home.*[45]

The boys, for whom discipline was more lax, had an easier time avoiding Sunday services. They did not have to walk in line, but made their way to church on their own in groups of three or four. They devised alternative ways of spending their time on Sunday morning:

> *To avoid church you probably stayed in bed till after breakfast. Somebody brought you a few slices of buttered toast. When the last call for church was made, you were probably in the tub having a prolonged bath. Then, as soon as the coast was clear, you and the gang sneaked out the east entrance, down Hamilton Street to the White Spot Cafeteria....*[46]

Regina College students always sat in the balcony of Metropolitan Church, the girls on the south side and the boys on the north. There were some distractions:

> *Church had some attractions too. About a dozen RCMP in their red coats always marched in to the seats in the centre back of the gallery. We girls sat just around the corner to the minister's right. We could share our thoughts about these young men for weeks.*[47]

In addition to church on Sunday morning, the students participated in daily chapel service during the week. The twenty-minute service started at 10:10 a.m. and consisted of hymns, prayers, and a short talk. Each faculty member presided in turn, giving the students a chance to compare

the various styles and approaches of their teachers. They noticed President Stapleford's predilection for "military" hymns like "Fight the Good Fight" and "Onward Christian Soldiers," while a certain lady faculty member was partial to "O Love That Will Not Let Me Go." Professor E.R. Doxsee's favourite text concerned "Wisdom being more precious than rubies or gold," and he had special fondness for the hymn "Dear Lord and Father of Mankind." Gordon Guest liked sermonettes based on snappy acronyms like TOF (Think of the other fellow) and DIT (Do it today).[48] Special guest speakers from time to time visited the college. For example, the chief of the fire department gave practical advice about fire prevention and the social reform secretary of the Methodist church explained how even the moderate use of alcoholic beverages did physiological harm to the body. Well-known novelists and poets such as Nellie McClung, Ralph Connor, Bliss Carman, Wilson Macdonald and Sir Henry Newbolt addressed the students.

Apart from the hymns and the prayers, the content of daily chapel service was not especially religious. One service a week was given over to a musical performance by faculty and students from the conservatory. One student commented, "we were not overburdened with religious teaching"; another added, "I do not know why it was called a chapel because in my time it was not necessarily used for religious programs."[49] Nonetheless, chapel provided a welcome break and spiritual uplift in the middle of morning classes:

'Mid the bang and the pang of college life,
'Mid the trials and troubles and all the strife,

'Mid the hustle and bustle of college years,
There's one bright light that helps us to steer

Through all that is wrong and would lead us astray,
And that is the morning chapel each day.[50]

Chapel had its lighter moments, too, like the time someone planted inside the speaker's lectern an alarm clock set to go off in the middle of the sermon, or when a prankster put four or five hymn books into the piano jamming the keys so that when the director of the conservatory sat down to play, the silence was deafening. The boys diverted themselves by rubbing their seats on the wooden benches, generating enough static electricity to "spark" the girls. Around examination time, President Stapleford could not resist the hymn, "Work for the Night is Coming."[51]

Compulsory chapel set Regina College apart from most other schools and helped give it a distinctive character. Many students remember the hymns they learned, and the fleeting feeling of somehow rising above the

mundane routine of daily classes. Chapel was one aspect of Regina College life that usually left a permanent imprint.

The religious education courses had a lesser impact probably because they occupied only two one-half hour sessions per week. The director of religious education followed a set curriculum for grades nine to twelve covering systematically the Old and New Testaments. The textbooks incorporated the results of modern Biblical scholarship, which stimulated some students, but prompted one to complain: "Religious education classes were interesting except that sometimes they explained away the miracles."[52] The influence of the social gospel was evident in the selection of Walter Rauschenbusch's *The Social Principles of Jesus* as one of the textbooks. In 1931, the grade twelve class adopted a new course dealing with the major religions of the world, including Hinduism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism and Judaism, with a view to discovering "the admirable qualities of each of the above mentioned faiths."[53] The religious education course was compulsory, except for Catholics, Jews, and senior students in second year arts.

The religious instruction provided through church attendance, daily chapel and religious education classes was supplemented by the activities of voluntary student associations. The YMCA and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and after 1925 the Student Christian Movement (SCM) added another dimension to religious life at the college. The meetings of the YMCA opened with a hymn, proceeded through an edifying program of some sort, and closed with another hymn followed by the college yell. The program themes for 1924-25 included, "Choosing a Vocation," "The Race Problem," "Hygiene," and "Something Every Boy Should Know," as well as a mock parliament and a debate on the question, "Resolved that Preparation for War is a Guarantee of Peace."[54]

Both the college YMCA and YWCA disappeared in 1925 and were succeeded by the SCM, which carried on a full slate of activities. To mark national prayer week, the SCM hosted a social hour in the girls' residence, organised the week's chapel periods, and sponsored a tea to raise money for the International Students Service on behalf of Bulgarian students.[55] The SCM sleigh ride in January attracted over a hundred people who braved the cold temperatures and then retired to the college for hot dogs, coffee, and community singing. Every Sunday evening SCM put on a "fireside social" in the girls' residence where guests could listen to music or readings.[56]

Small discussion groups were organized to give students an opportunity to talk about personal feelings and problems. The groups met on Sunday morning after breakfast and before church. Led by a faculty member or

mature student, the boys in 1925 discussed such topics as "playing square, clean speech, habit, boasting, petty gambling, tobacco, camouflage, girls, the making of a real man, work, making good, and friendships."[57] In 1932 the SCM groups took up the themes "comparative religions" and "the teaching of Jesus" among others.[58] The idea was to create an informal atmosphere in which people felt comfortable talking about themselves. The groups seemed relatively successful in some years, less so in others. The director of religious education attributed poor participation to the large number of extracurricular activities competing for students' time. The weakness of SCM in comparison with branches at university campuses was further explained by the relative youth of the Regina College student population.[59]

The SCM was one element in the effort to channel young people into a Christian way of life. On a designated Sunday in March, known as College Sunday, the students attended Metropolitan Church in a body. The service that day, including a baccalaureate sermon preached by a guest minister, was directed specifically to the students. Time was set aside in the afternoon to make a formal appeal urging the students to commit themselves to Christ. The apathetic response in 1923 dismayed the director of religious education:

> *Investigation later suggested that one chief difficulty we have had to contend with this year has been the lack of the best type of leadership among our students.... great care [must] be exercised in dealing with student offenders against the fundamental standards of our college life, so that it be seriously considered in the fall term especially, whether such offenders, after being put on trial, should not be dismissed for the sake of the common welfare of the student body.*[60]

The situation improved the following year, when the appeal to make a definite commitment to a Christian life was given in a small classroom rather than a large auditorium. The director of religious education breathed a sigh of relief: "A large majority of students in each form recorded decisions to begin the Christian life or be more loyal to it, to undertake the means necessary to sustain that life and to go back to their communities with the idea of service dominant."[61] The effectiveness of spiritual training at Regina College is, of course, difficult to ascertain. All that can be said with certainty is that students conformed to religious observances and showed no significant signs of rebellion against parental expectations.

Spiritual and intellectual development went along with physical development. Although the athletic director complained in 1929 that he had been unable to convince his colleagues to place physical education on an equal footing with academic work, Regina College had a

comprehensive athletic program for all the students, not just the good athletes.[62] Before breakfast, the girls in residence were expected to do "setting-up exercises" and "corrective classes for curved spines and round shoulders." After breakfast, they went outside, rain or shine, for a brisk twenty-minute hike, walking in line, two by two, in the same formation used when going to church. All the girls, except those physically incapable, had to participate. The boys as usual had more freedom to do as they liked, some fitting in a game of tennis or going for a run around Wascana Lake before morning classes.[63]

Students received a minimum of one hour and as much as three hours per week of instruction in physical education during regular school time. In order to ensure the classes were taken seriously, grades were assigned and figured into the calculation of students' averages for the semi-term reports. Outside of class time, the gamut of intramural sports were played: hockey, rugby, basketball, volleyball, baseball, tennis, boxing, swimming, hiking, track and field, and skating.[64]

Regina College fielded teams to compete with Central Collegiate, Scott Collegiate, the Normal School, Campion, Moose Jaw Collegiate, and others. Supporting the college teams against their rivals boosted school spirit. At the beginning of the rugby season, the coach instructed the girls in the fundamentals of the game so that they would cheer at the right times.[65] The 1925 rugby team failed to score a single point all season:

> *As rugby players, many said we were failures. Were we? We don't think so! In the first place, the college opens a month later than other schools and our players are practically all raw material. The other schools have the advantage of a month's preparation before we get started, and in many cases the players have played together in previous seasons or have at least played the game at some time. Although we failed to score a point in any game during the season, we were better prepared to do so towards the last of it than at the first—That's where we are at a disadvantage, we just get into good fighting form when the season ends.*[66]

The 1927 season went much better and ended with the winning of the Kiwanis Rugby Shield for intercollegiate competition. "Confounded by the wizardry of the supermen in moleskins—the Regina College rugby team—[the other teams] went thundering down to defeat before the most marvellous rugby machine the college has ever produced."[67]

Another popular sport was ice hockey. When Ruth (Willsey) Wilkinson was a student at Regina College from 1914 to 1916, her future husband played for the college against an older and particularly rough team from

Bulyea. He returned from one game with a big gash in his chin, the result of a high stick. When Bulyea came to play, the girls could barely refrain from climbing over the boards to join in the fight on the ice.[68] The girls' attempt to play hockey amused a male sports writer:

> *At the close of the game many of the boys felt bound to remark that it was the cleanest exhibition of hockey they had ever witnessed. They were very much impressed with the profuse illustrations afforded of ice etiquette. Some of them were: To think of the pleasure of others and to keep the rink well swept even though the skirts suffer; if an opponent is within a rod of you with a puck, to make a bow, throw down your stick, or as many did, kneel. In fact one professor is credited with playing half the game in this reverential posture. . . . The ladies rigidly and tenaciously adhered to the rule 'skate up beside the puck, sit down beside it, look at it in pity'. . . . The game closed without either side being rude enough to take a goal. The referee and judge of play had scarcely anything to do, but the two boys chosen to assist the ladies who lost their balance, were played out long before the call of time.*[69]

Both teachers and students joined in the annual June sports day. The event in 1913 began with a tennis tournament lasting from Friday until Monday. A baseball game matched students against the "pedagogues [who] proved their superiority by a narrow margin." Then followed the "blind pig race for couples; potato race for couples; horseback race for men; companion race for couples; nail driving contest for ladies; 100 yard dash for men; 100 yard dash for ladies; and broad jump."[70]

Athletics were not the only extracurricular activities. The bookish students belonged to the literary society, which originated in the early days of the college's operations. A meeting in December 1911, devoted to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, consisted of a paper on the life of the poet written by Marion How and readings from his poems by Hazel Hill and Minnie Maguire. "In response to the roll call each girl quoted a few words from the poet."[71] The girls' literary society held a session in March 1914 in which they managed at one fell swoop to discuss "The Panama Canal," "The Mexican Troubles," "Aviation," "Women's Suffrage," "Mona Lisa," and "Radium."[72] The boys' literary society organized mock parliaments and debated such resolutions as: "Resolved that Canadian boys should receive military training in colleges and high schools and military camps," and "Resolved that the doctors should be paid by the Community."[73] The students also produced plays and musicals both for their own entertainment and that of the general public.

The *College Register*, a yearbook containing the names and photographs of the students, a record of college organisations as well as essays, poems, and jokes, was an impressive publication, but the student newspaper appeared irregularly. In 1935 a few students created a mild sensation with an underground newspaper dubbed *The Red Herring*. At the request of the more conservative students, Dr. Stapleford and Professor Wagg considered banning the upstart publication, but cooler heads among the faculty prevailed with the inevitable result that *The Red Herring* petered out on its own. Hilda Neatby thought the whole incident illustrated the conventionality and closed atmosphere at Regina College: "You may find it hard to believe that such a harmless thing could set the whole place buzzing, but it does."[74] Neatby and her colleague David Smith founded a writers' club whose members published some interesting and high quality short stories.

Many student organizations had an uncertain existence, flourishing or languishing according to the shifting interests of the students. When Professor E.R. Doxsee tried to start a Latin club, the response was initially doubtful: "The possibility of any kind of a society in connection with a dusty, dead language like Latin filled us with dread. Strange images arose in our minds, of meetings composed of translations and difficult verbs, but because we all loved Professor Doxsee we reluctantly agreed to his plan."[75] Club members played Latin games, sang Latin songs, solved conundrums in Latin, and listened to lectures on such topics as "A Visit to Horace's Farm." The meetings of the Historical Society in 1929-30 highlighted an illustrated lecture on "Renaissance Art in Italy," a discussion about Russia ("many diverse opinions were painfully extracted from the would-be historians"), and Professor Arthur S. Morton of the University of Saskatchewan talking about "New Ways of Making History Interesting."[76] The Pente Kai Deka Sorority accepted as members all second year university girls, both those living in residence and those living off-campus. Through bridge tournaments and coeducational toboggan parties, social barriers fell and friendships formed.[77]

Glee clubs for boys and girls practised weekly. The boys' glee club, that "safety valve" for "College Carusos," shouted their special yell:

Rip saw! Rip saw! Rip saw Bang,
We belong to the Glee Club Gang,
Are we in it? I should smile,
We've been in it for a long, long while.

Two bits, four bits, six bits, a dollar,
Why don't you kids wake up and holler,
R.C. Glee Club, Rah![78]

The academic students, as distinct from the Conservatory of Music students, organised an orchestra that was good enough to be in demand for student socials, the annual college banquet, the school trustees' convention, and CKCK radio broadcasts. An imaginative contributor to the yearbook speculated as to the orchestra's origins:

> *With the opening of the College last fall came the inevitable influx of students. This was to be expected. But with the students came a most heterogeneous conglomeration of instruments for the purpose of music. This had not been expected. Students from all points of the compass flocked to the College carrying, besides their usual quota of luggage, cases containing instruments of all kinds. There were whole families of valve horns, saxophones too numerous to mention, mouth organs, clarinets, jews harps, fiddles by the score, ukeleles and frisco whistles.*
>
> *The faculty were distracted. Every night from different rooms the discordant melodies of these instruments mingled with the noise of falling plaster rent the calm of the autumn air. In vain did the members of the staff seek to break up these gatherings. After several attempts it was given up in despair. . . . They put their heads together and discussed ways and means in solemn conclave. Then suddenly one of them—we do not know who—had the bright idea. It came like an arrow from the blue. Why not organize these aspiring musicians into an orchestra? Make them practise and play at the social functions. Everyone knows that a boy hates doing what he must but delights in doing what he must not. The faculty retired in good humour and slept the sleep of the just.*
>
> *The orchestra was organised immediately. True to expectation it had a marked effect upon the noise production of top floor. Following the introduction of the orchestra, horns were little in evidence, and when a fellow blowing a few soft notes on a saxophone heard a knock at the door he hid his horn in dire fear that it was an invitation to play in the orchestra.*[79]

Another musical group, the Wailana (Hawaiian) Quartet, consisted of three guitars and a ukelele. "Although it has not appeared much in public, the nightly practices of room 322 after study hall are well attended."[80]

Extracurricular activities from the literary society to the glee clubs afforded many opportunities for students to get together on a fairly casual basis. More formally, the college evolved traditions to mark the passing of the school year. To welcome the incoming students, the faculty hosted a fall reception, complete with receiving line and formal introductions.

Games were played to break the ice: "The guests were divided into groups according to birthday months. Each group was required to compose a song, the rendering of which was in all cases very amusing.... After being allotted partners, a contest involving the knowledge of trees was conducted."[81] In later years, after the lifting of restrictions on dancing, the fall reception evolved into something less sedate:

> *You should have seen it! You know what happens when the first occasion for the new crepe* à la mode *arrives, and ye knights from the other side, bedight in shining tonic, make their composite bow. It began in the rotunda of Darke Hall, the Big Welcoming Reception, with Dr. and Mrs. Stapleford, Mr. and Mrs. Wagg, Mr. and Mrs. Smith and Miss Mooney receiving, in state. Then come the program, inside, given by Mr. Hampshire, Maida Peake, Katherine McConechy, who is assisting Mrs. Westmoreland this year, and that well-known fishing and pianist team, Ruth Hawkin and Isabelle Pease. This, the second course, was immensely popular.*
>
> *The third round was staged in the College Chapel, where dawning intelligence was initiated into the mysteries, college yells and other ritualistic observances. At 9:30 or thereabouts there was a general descent to Byronic levels, with on-with-the-dance projected in the dining room, followed, less poetically, with on-with-the-eats.*[82]

Apart from the welcoming reception in the fall, the Staplefords made a point throughout the year of entertaining in their suite smaller groups of students. The president and his wife liked to share their enthusiasm for travel and art. For some students, unaccustomed to this level of gentility, an evening at the Staplefords was an experience to be endured more than enjoyed: "Inevitably, the victrola was used to play 'The Flight of the Bumble Bee,'—the country boys were bored to death."[83]

The students concocted their own elaborate initiation rites for newcomers to the college. In 1915 boisterous collegians created havoc in downtown Regina:

> *A tumultuous mob, shrieking and gesticulating wildly, and garbed in the most grotesque of costumes surged through the city streets at a late hour last night, rudely disturbing the peaceful occupations of citizens in their vicinity, and striking fear into the hearts of the more timid who were doubtless afraid the Queen City was being visited with a German invasion.... After initiating each victim by painting his face black with green trimmings and dressing him in bed sheets, the procession*

serenaded the college building and ladies' residence and then marched downtown in a body. Various adventures were encountered and the boys had several narrow escapes from being 'run in' by the police, but this only added to the enjoyment and success for their first hazing in the city.[84]

Initiation for the boys in the 1920s began when the Grand Demon, dressed in a flowing brown robe, his face painted bright red, entered the dining hall at supper time firing shots from a Colt .38. He ordered the freshmen to change to old clothes and present themselves in the chapel. They were blindfolded and escorted through the tunnel to the gymnasium, where they were summoned before the Grand Demon for trial, found guilty, and "shot." Their lifeless bodies were dropped from the balcony of the gym to the floor below, embalmed in fluids, and finally revived by the Grand Demon administering a mild electric shock. Each boy swore the oath of allegiance to the Brown Brotherhood and drank to the health of the fraternity from the Brown Brotherhood Goblet.[85]

The girls went through a tamer initiation. They appeared at supper with middies on backwards, skirts upside down, faces painted, and hair in small braids. With great green bows added to their hats, they marched downtown to the Capitol Theatre, taking the front-row seats. At the end of the movie, the words, "Welcome Freshettes of Regina College," flashed on the screen. The spotlight turned on the girls who stood up and faced the audience while the orchestra played, "Hail, hail the gang's all here." Back at the college, the "freshettes" ran the gauntlet of "Devil's Alley," before the evening came to a close with sandwiches and song.[86]

The end-of-the-year counterpart to the fall reception was the college banquet held in March. An elegant and formal occasion with toasts, speeches, and musical entertainment, the event capped the school year. Although the students were given instruction in proper etiquette beforehand, they did not always behave accordingly:

We assembled in the Reception Room and went down, one table at a time. We all did justice to the turkey etc. Before the head table had finished, the students were rather restless and spent the time throwing paper napkins and studying all the new gowns.[87]

Closing exercises and distribution of prizes took place in May or June. The ceremonies for the second year arts and science class in 1933 opened with

a very recherché *tea in the Girls' Reception Room, with old and new students weaving tea, sandwiches,* crepe de Chine *and*

> bons mots *in an agreeable pattern. . . . The 'Closing Exercises' proper, meaning the official phase, took place in the Darke Hall at 7:30 sharp. Some of us asked Miss Mooney a few days before, 'Just how long is this affair to last?' Summarizing the program, she answered, 'From 7:30 to 9 exactly.' How she managed it, who can say? The fact remains, it lasted from 7:30 to 9, exactly, speech and all.*
>
> *Sir Frederick Haultain, you will recall, is Chief Justice of the Court of Appeal and Chancellor of the University of Saskatchewan. Sir Frederick told the budding citizens before him that to be young was in itself a great opportunity, that in the days to come they would have the greatest opportunity of all, an opportunity to serve their country. . . . The dance, the third round, as it were, held in the Gymnasium, was a very de luxe affair, a rhythmic sea of lovely women and likeable men, with overtones of 'Au Revoir' enriching the jazz band's fundamental. Speaking of the sea, there was on the platform, as the main decorative feature (still life, excluding the band) a mighty battle-ship, with an awesome turret of many guns, probably offsetting the tendency noticeable in certain student bodies these days to swearfully decline to fight for King and Country. . . .*[88]

Apart from formal affairs like the faculty reception and the closing exercises, the academic year was punctuated by a variety of social events. On Hallowe'en, the students dressed up in costumes and promenaded from the girls' reception room to the gymnasium. The grand march continued around the floor of the gym until the judges selected the prize winners for the best costumes. The boys in 1928 celebrated Hallowe'en with a "pyjama parade." Yelling at the top of their voices, they were making their way down Scarth Street when suddenly six young men charged into the line: "It looked like a general fight for a while. . .the facts are not known definitely but it is certain that Mr. Guest [the chemistry teacher] was obliged to wear a covering over his eye for the next three days." The college boys in due course reached the Metropolitan Theatre where they sauntered down the aisles giving the college yell before beating a hasty retreat through the rear exits. More yelling and rowdy behaviour took place in front of the *Leader* and *Star* buildings, the Steam Laundry, and in the lobby of the Hotel Saskatchewan. The proprietor of the College Tea Rooms, who no doubt appreciated the college business, handed out free Eskimo pies. The revellers then headed for the residence to serenade the girls, who, literally and figuratively, poured cold water on their efforts.[89]

To Hallowe'en, Christmas, and Valentine's Day parties were added other social events. Boys dressed as lumberjacks and gingham-clad girls played old-fashioned games and ate sandwiches wrapped in newspaper at the "Hard-Times" social. At skating parties, the girls filled out skating cards similar to dance cards listing their partners for the evening. Movie and theatre-going excursions were organised:

> *after a hectic, but successful attempt to arrange satisfactory partners, the Third Form sallied forth to the Capitol Theatre. After listening for two hours to the soul-disturbing cries of one Al Jolson for his mammy, they returned to the College, amusing themselves on the way back by making awful attempts at imitating the said Mr. Jolson.*[90]

The college prohibited dancing until 1925, and even then, the privilege extended only to second year university students. The senior students got together for parties in private homes, as on one clear, frosty Saturday evening in 1926, when "numerous flivers chugged up to the home of Kathleen Demorest. Soon the guests were all tripping the light fantastic to the strains of the victrola. Judging from the number of sandwiches consumed and the number of phonograph records broken, the evening was an unqualified success."[91] Larger dances were held in the gymnasium:

> *'Peppy' seems a mild adjective to apply to our first two dances. . . . We danced the 'Stapleford Stomp' and other famous dances such as 'Wagg's Wobble' to the music of the College orchestra which was in every sense 'collegiate.'*[92]

Many students in grade twelve and lower grades resented the ban on dancing:

> *I always felt that we should have been able to dance with boys. I remember one nite [sic] we went to the library—someone played the piano and we turned out the lights. Some of the boys dropped in and we were dancing up a storm and on went the lights. A teacher had heard us. One boy was so scared he jumped out the window and broke his leg. That ended his College career. We were a little scared it might end ours too. They were pretty strict with us.*
>
> *Our grade twelve graduation was held on the campus. It was a beautiful summer nite [sic]. All the girls in their Grad dresses and the boys so handsome. The College had hired a band and the music was beautiful! One of the tunes I remember was 'Linger awhile.'* But *we were not allowed to dance.*[93]

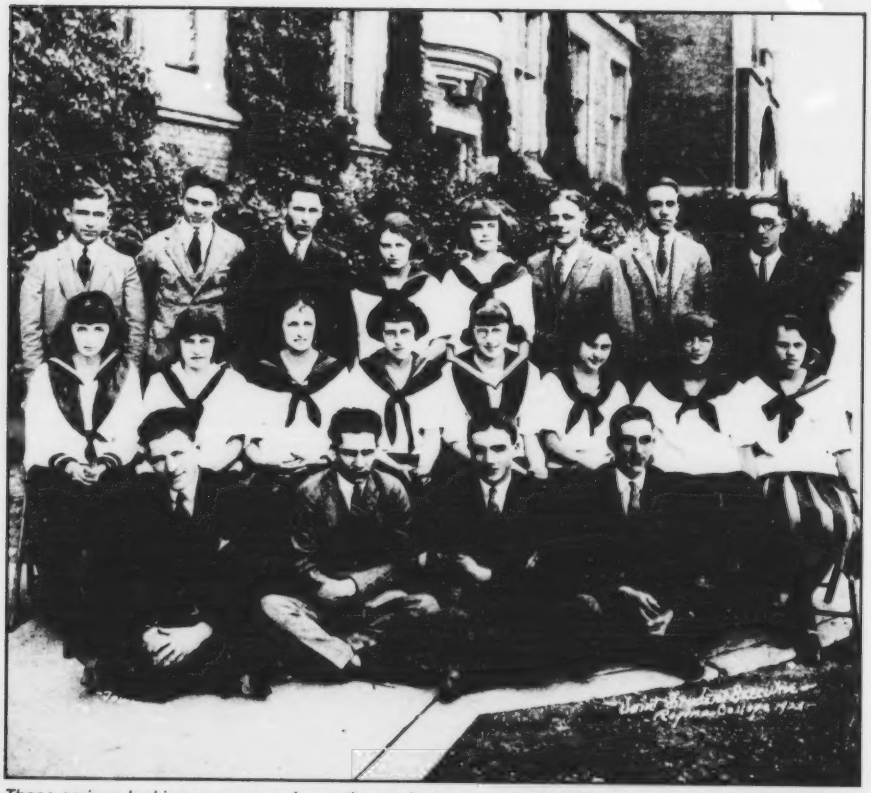
The strictures against dancing were gradually relaxed. The faculty in 1928 passed a motion allowing grade twelve students to dance, but the next year defeated a motion extending the same right to grades nine, ten and eleven. A motion referring only to grade eleven was then introduced and passed by a slim margin. All dances were, of course, well chaperoned and ended before midnight.[94] In the 1930s boys and girls in residence were allowed to dance for an hour or so in the common room after supper. Twice a week, the boys trooped in from their side of the residence to join the girls who entered from the door on the opposite side.[95] All went well, except for complaints from the girls of a shortage of male partners.

All extracurricular activities came under the jurisdiction of their respective student directorates: social, literary and dramatic, athletic, Student Christian Movement, and yearbook. Representatives from each of these directorates, together with executive officers elected by the student body as a whole, made up the student council. The students were permitted a limited form of self-government under the watchful eye of the faculty. A faculty adviser was attached to each student directorate and two faculty members sat on the student council. In addition, the returning officer for the elections was always a teacher.[96] Each of the residences had student committees to advise the deans and bring forward questions and complaints. Generally speaking, however, the deans did not trust these student bodies with much power. The dean of men sized up the situation: "I have found that in this body certain boys have a high sense of responsibility but that others have not. For this reason I have been unwilling to entrust much executive power to them as far as residence discipline is concerned."[97] The student committees could be used in such a way as to strengthen the authority of the deans. If the dean had the support of respected student leaders, the rank and file were more likely to fall into line and obey the residence rules.[98]

Regina College was not a democratic community. The lines of authority were clear, and there was no question as to who was in charge. Not only did the faculty give constant supervision and guidance, but they also knew exactly what they wanted to accomplish. Their purpose was to help young people develop into capable, well-rounded citizens of good character. The college made serious intellectual demands on students and expected them to make the most of their mental equipment. As Hilda Neatby remarked, there was "so much for the mind."[99] Spiritual growth was fostered through church attendance, daily chapel, compulsory religious education courses, and voluntary Christian student organisations. Athletics, ranging from morning walks to intercollegiate rugby, built healthy bodies for healthy minds. In the social sphere, the students had fun and at the same time learned social skills and good manners. The literary and drama club, glee clubs,

The class of 1914-15. Seated in the middle of the front row is Miss Louise Bollert, M.A., lady principal.

The Women's Literary Society, 1915-16, with Miss Bollert, lady principal, on the left in the front row.



These serious-looking young people are the student executive of 1923; the young women are wearing the middies which were then in fashion.

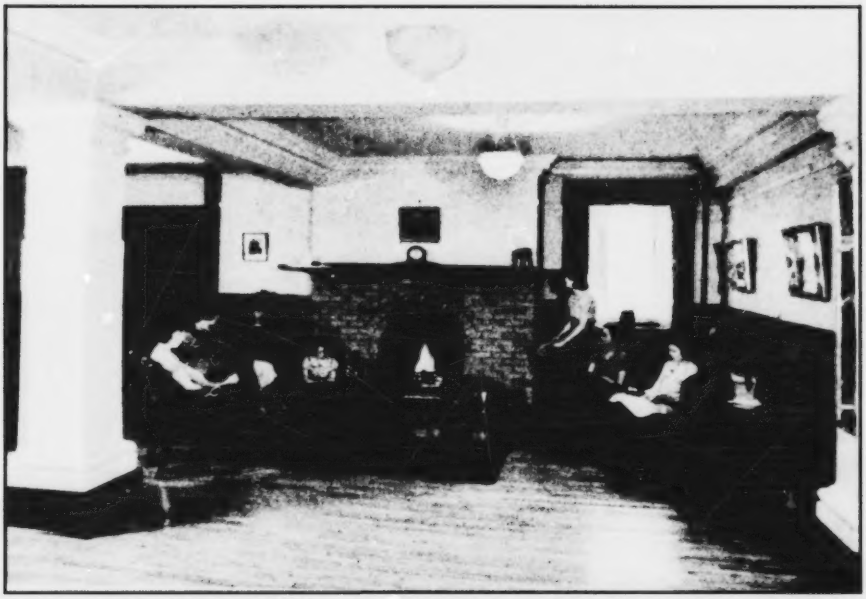
(Left), two Regina College girls in tennis attire about 1915.

(Opposite page, top), two collegians sitting on the pier of the Wascana Lake boathouse about 1916. The south side of Regina College can be seen in the distance.

(Opposite page, middle), the Regina College women's hockey team, about 1925. "The ladies rigidly and tenaciously adhered to the rule 'skate up beside the puck, sit down beside it, look at it in pity.'"

(Below), the winning rugby team of 1927, "the most marvellous rugby machine the college has ever produced."

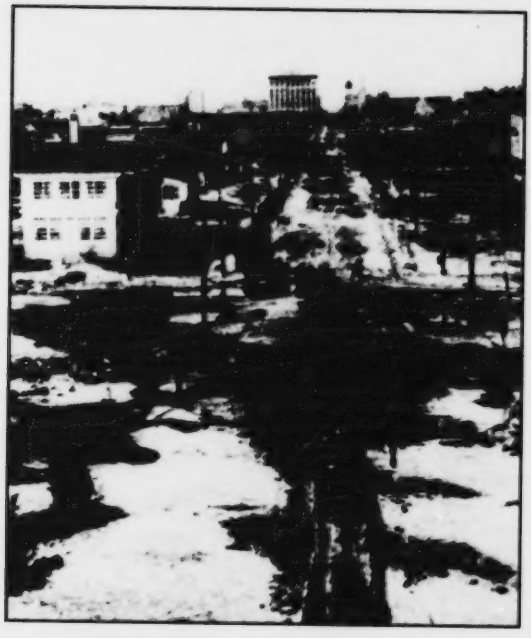
REGINA
COLLEGE
SHIELD



The reception room in the girls' residence. The residence was opened in 1916, providing "an atmosphere of quiet culture which can not but have a good influence upon all the young ladies who are privileged to make it their home."

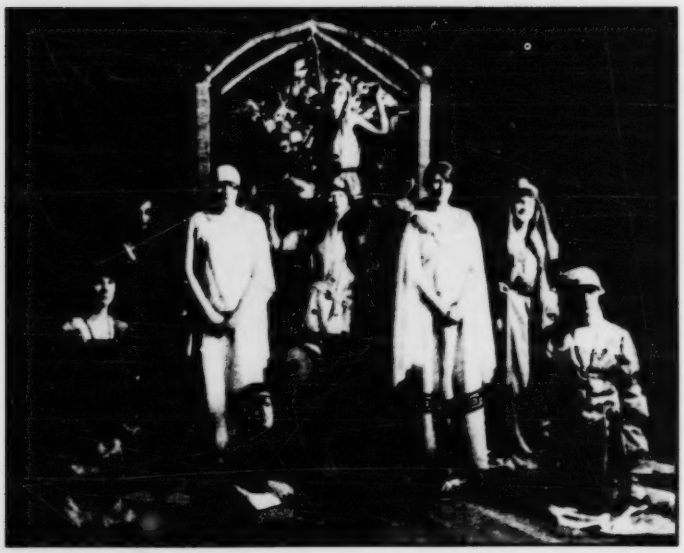
A room in the girls' residence.

The girl students walked everywhere "in line," in keeping with the strict discipline maintained at the college. This group, photographed in the 1920s, have left the college and are proceeding north on Scarth Street.



Male students were not as restricted as the females. Second from the right is James M. Minifie, who attended Regina College 1919-21. To his right is Blake Harper, his mathematical mentor, who taught that "the best way to learn crap shooting was to lose twenty dollars betting on probability."

(Above), the students' orchestra, 1926-27. Not to be confused with the Conservatory of Music junior orchestra, these residential students put together their own group and were much in demand at student socials. (Below), ***Dream of Fair Women****, a pageant presented by the Expression Class under the direction of Mrs. A.M. Westmoreland, 1929.*



and assorted parties complemented more formal social rituals like the faculty reception in the fall and the college banquet in the spring. Everything came together to create a total college experience that was not narrowly academic, athletic or social, but a combination of all these elements. One parent understood this concept very well when he said to his daughter as she left home for Regina College, "You get an education there at the college that you never get in a book."[100]

The formal programs, whether curricular or extracurricular, were not the whole of college life. The atmosphere of the college, though intangible and practically indefinable, had quite as much to do with the quality of education provided. An editorial in the 1922 yearbook compared college spirit to a "good angel brooding over every part of our college activity":

> *It must be found on the campus, cheering the team to victory or standing loyally behind them in defeat. . . . Certainly our good spirit must go with us into the classroom for when we hear the rustle of its wings there, it is easy to be happy at honest work. And, good spirit, forsake us not in the hours of pleasant fellowship when our young hearts are made glad on occasions of merry intercourse the one with the other. We know indeed that we shall always find you, O Spirit, breathing through our services of worship, winning your way evermore into our hearts through the songs we sing and every service prayer we offer.*[101]

The Regina College strove to permeate all phases of student life—academic, athletic and social— with the Christian spirit, relying upon "the good angel" to integrate everything into a harmonious and meaningful whole.

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8 Ora A. Green, 1928-29, questionnaire.
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12 Daniel J. Harmer, 1936-38, questionnaire.
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46 Alva Samuel Haggerty, 1927-29, questionnaire.
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SIX

STUDENT LIFE: VALUES AND DISCIPLINE

"Oh yes I learned to play poker at Regina College. . . ."

Regina College sought to instil the ideals of conduct of Christian ladies and gentlemen. The members of the faculty were not only experts in their particular academic discipline, but also role models, who were supposed to epitomise good character. Their conversation, manners and dress were expected to be worthy of imitation. The residential nature of the college guaranteed that students and faculty spent a great deal of time together. If the college community had something of the atmosphere of a family, the faculty took the role of benevolent, though strict, parents.

Intergenerational conflict between young and old seems more pronounced in some historical periods than in others. The 1960s decade of "hippies" and the "counter-culture" exemplified an era when young people consciously rebelled against the values and mores of their elders. The 1920s, too, had a reputation for youthful rebelliousness. Historian Robert Stamp depicts Ontario high school students of the 1920s as a wild generation of "flaming youth":

> *Increases in productivity, affluence and leisure time all contributed to making what came to be called the flapper age or the jazz age. Large numbers of youth who were brought up in comparative affluence, free of concerns about involvement in production, began to develop a different style of life around the new technology of the twentieth century. . . . To many veteran school personnel and other upholders of traditional moral values, all this seemed to be leading youth straight down the paths to hell.*[1]

Paula Fass in *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s*, continues in the same vein, suggesting that the relatively loose sexual conduct of young people in the 1920s pioneered what later came to be known as the "sexual revolution."[2]

Such images of "flaming youth" openly flouting adult norms had little relevance to Regina College, where the students, for the most part, quietly accepted strict discipline. For one thing, students were under almost constant supervision from "lights on" at 7:00 a.m. to "lights out" at 10:00 p.m. They had little opportunity to break away on their own and "get

into trouble." The girls, in particular, were carefully watched. If they wished to leave the college grounds, they needed to obtain the permission of the women's dean and sign a register when they left and again upon returning. On a Saturday afternoon, girls were allowed to go downtown on a shopping expedition, but only in a group and only when accompanied by a female teacher. This rule was relaxed somewhat in the 1920s when girls received permission to go shopping without a chaperone, but a girl could still not go out alone.[3]

At the beginning of the school year, a girl's parents supplied a list of people whom the girl might suitably visit. Invitations to dinner or other social engagements were approved only when the name of the hostess appeared on the list. The hostess, or someone representing her, picked the girl up at the college and brought her back at a prearranged time. Early leave expired at 9:45 p.m. and late leave at 11:00 p.m. Permission for weekends away from the college was granted sparingly.

Girls had the privilege of receiving callers at the residence at certain specified times, from 5:00 to 6:00 p.m. on week days, 2:00 to 6:00 p.m. on Saturdays, and from 4:00 to 5:00 p.m. on Sundays. "Gentleman callers" required a letter of introduction from the girl's parents or guardian. Girls seventeen years of age and older could go out with boys on Saturday afternoons, provided, of course, they had obtained permission from the girl's parents and the women's dean. In 1929 the calendar for the first time mentioned that girls could accept an invitation from a boy to go out on Saturday night.[4] However, a Regina College girl was not supposed to attend a public dance or go "motoring," except with adult friends on the visitors' list or in a motoring party with an approved chaperone. Clearly, the college authorities feared the possibilities created by riding in a boyfriend's car.

Compared to the girls, the boys enjoyed more freedom to come and go as they pleased. The rules about chaperones and staying in groups did not apply to them. They could leave the college premises more easily, except during class time or study periods. A student in 1915 remembers going out frequently in the evening after 10:00 p.m., with the dean's consent, to a restaurant for a piece of Boston cream pie. Other favourite amusements were Charlie Chaplin movies and hanging around the record shop while the clerk played requests by the hour, especially Harry Lauder.[5] Although the outside doors were locked at 10:30 p.m., the boys found ways and means to admit latecomers. They made their entry through the coal shute or unlocked basement windows.[6] The girls could not help but notice the contrast between their regimentation and the latitude given the boys: "We never understood why girls required so many 'musts' and boys went free!"[7]

The college authorities guarded against boy-girl relationships getting out of hand. "YOUR BOY OR GIRL WILL BE SAFE IN REGINA COLLEGE," the advertisements boldly proclaimed, and the faculty did everything in their power to keep the promise. Students were allowed to play tennis as couples, as long as the courts were well supervised from the windows above.[8] A boy might carry his girlfriend's skates down to the lake and skate with her, but if they wandered too far away, they were breaking the rules.[9] Boys and girls walked in pairs on "progressive hikes," changing partners every time the whistle blew. In the 1920s one night a week was set aside for genteel courtship:

> *Tuesday evenings are gala nights for the students of Regina College. About five o'clock Mr. Willey [the janitor] can be seen inspecting the lights of the Reception Room and also the springs of the chesterfield. Mrs. Truman arduously flourishes a duster over certain stiff-backed chairs which are only used on this one occasion. Miss Theal [the matron] also celebrates—the menu—onions, liver, and bacon, but no one minds for every little heart is palpitating in anticipation of the great event. Two young ladies, obviously embarrassed, stand at the tower room door and receive the braver members of the other sex, while every other fair maiden in the residence hangs over the bannister of the first floor landing waiting anxiously for her name to be called. The gentlemen having arrived, everyone proceeds to take full possession of the few precious moments, with the anxious eyes of the Faculty alternating between the chesterfield and the clock. At seven ten, the harsh ringing of the bell brings us to earth again and with languishing glances and last words of farewell, everyone moves to the tower room door. They are gone! The night is over and we once more settle down to the routine of college life.*[10]

The instruction given on matters of sex was, as would be expected of the time and place, very discreet. The women's dean held a "dean's hour" every Saturday after the noon lunch when she talked to the girls about etiquette, deportment, and personal hygiene. The topics ran the gamut from "not reading others' letters to never using a toothpick."[11] One day the dean announced the subject of the following week's session would be "BFs." The girls left in a state of some bewilderment, until they in due course learned that "BFs" were boyfriends.[12] The men's dean also gave talks to the boys about good manners and suitable vocabulary. A student from the mid-1930s recalls the embarrassment surrounding the sex lectures: "The pamphlet he distributed, which had to be returned, was read, usually after lights out, by aid of a flashlight and with a great deal of snickering."[13]

Despite the best efforts of the faculty, members of the opposite sex contrived ways to spend time together. A rendezvous downtown might be arranged for Saturday afternoon:

> *On one occasion that I remember well—my roommate and I left the line, while on a Saturday shopping expedition, joined two of the boys and went to a Saturday matinee. Our consciences bothered us, so we went to Miss Bollert [dean] and confessed. She was stern, but because it was our first time did not punish us.*[14]

Students arranged unauthorized communications:

> *Girl Watching—(a very important part of our education!) I seem to recall after hours, or during study periods, hanging out windows to look across the way to the girls' residence, signals exchanged; and whispered conversations through the steel doors that separated us from the tower room. . . .*[15]

Items printed in the college yearbook hinted that couples tested the bounds of propriety:

> *Girl: 'No, now we mustn't, didn't you see the Deans have decided to stop necking?'*
>
> *Boy: 'Great Scott! First thing you know they'll want students to stop too.'*[16]

Famous Stops on the Organ.

Stop! How dare you.
Stop! You're mussing my hair.
Stop! or-oo-oo-o-oooo-oo-o-oop!
Stop! My hat's coming off.
Stop! I'm not that kind of a girl.
Stop! I can't get my breath.
Stop! You're crushing my bouquet.
Stop! Sirr-r-r-r-rr!
Stop! You're tearing my hair net.
Stop! I'll tell the Dean on you.[17]

In one famous episode that achieved almost the status of a legend, three boys and three girls, who had been granted leave to go home for the weekend, were escorted by a chaperone to the train. However, they slipped out of the other end of the train and took a room at the Hotel Saskatchewan. They might have escaped punishment had they not made such a mess of the room that the hotel staff went to the Normal School (teachers' college)

in search of the culprits. The principal of the Normal School, having no knowledge of the incident, referred the matter to President Stapleford. The guilty parties were soon identified and expelled forthwith.[18] As a general practice, if a girl was unaccountably absent from the college, the teachers "scoured the earth" for her.[19] In matters of sex, vigilance was the watchword.

Some young people from the country complained the Regina College standards were more puritanical than what they were used to at home:

Back home each night we took the car
No matter what the weather,
And went to see our dearest sweet—
'Them days is gone forever.'

The easy chair with room for two—
And when her mother let her
We'd close the parlour curtains, but—
'Them days is gone forever.'

'Will that young man go home tonight?'
Her father would then tell her,
'Or will he have his breakfast here?'
'Them days is gone for ever.'[20]

Dr. George Trueman of the Canadian Methodist Board of Education, in a 1921 report on Regina College, remarked that the college could not be as severe in the regulation of boy-girl relationships as were institutions in eastern Canada, because parents in the west were more lenient.[21] However, most parents probably took the view "better safe than sorry," and appreciated the efforts of Regina College to live up to its advertising slogan.

Boys were expected to be "gentleman," and girls were expected to be "ladies," although the latter seemed rather more important than the former. The "flapper," "what this age would call a very modern girl,"[22] was decidedly not a "lady." A symbol of the exuberant, "roaring" twenties, the flapper "smoked, drank, wore a lot of make-up and short dresses, and 'slept around.'" Many Regina College girls imitated flapper styles and fashions, but only a few carried the imitation to the extent of sleeping around.[23] Two girls created a sensation at the college in 1916, when they bobbed their hair,[24] but by the 1920s bobbed hair was commonplace. Girls experimented with the "shingle," the "buster brown," marcel waves, spit curls, and little back-combed bushes covering the ears called "cootie garages."[25] Make-up was permitted, but only in modest amounts. The students themselves poked fun at those who used too much:

When Smarty took her in his arms
The colour left her cheek
But on the lapels of his coat
It showed up for a week.[26]

Clothing styles showed the flapper influence. Girls wore sleeveless dresses with the low waist design. They rolled their stockings below the knee in keeping with the popular song, "Roll'em, Girlies, roll'em, Everybody roll'em, Roll'em down and show your pretty Knees!" While a girl's party dress might be in the flapper style ("brief skirt, long waist, wide belt and beads, gold shot taffeta and black beads"), every-day wear consisted often of a middy, with a red or blue tie, and a skirt.[27] Regina College kept a tight rein on flapperdom:

> *Some girls tried to emulate them [flappers] but this was frowned on. . . .*
>
> *There was no encouragement of flappers in Regina College under Dr. Stapleford.*
>
> *We were aware [of flappers] but our styles of dress were watched. I don't think we ever disgraced the college.*[28]

As late as 1934 some girls in the residence were still aping the dress styles and lingo of the flapper era. Such girls boasted about getting past the registry desk without removing their heavy make-up and enjoyed recounting their late-night adventures.[29]

Flappers were part of the jazz age, when "the dances were close, the steps were fast, and the music was jazz."[30] Even Regina, a city isolated from the major metropolitan centres of North America, experienced the general cultural influences of the 1920s. Newspapers, movies and magazines spread the latest fads and trends. Playing in a Regina theatre in 1931 was the movie with the slightly risqué title, "Confessions of a Co-ed: A Flaming Diary of Flaming College Youth." (Predictably, this 1920s movie did not arrive in the city until 1931.) The film dealt with "the lives and loves, hopes and ambitions of the most interesting people in America today, the young College students. Its startling exposures. . .will amaze you. . .an exciting procession of girls' clothes, proms, dances, dating and week-ending in fashionable mountain resorts."[31] The moviegoer was tantalised with revelations about the glamorous life style and uninhibited sexual behaviour of modern youth.

Jazz was the official music of youthful rebellion. The Regina *Leader* published in 1922 an alarmist article warning that the "Empire May be Undermined by Spirit of Jazz."[32] Dan Cameron, teacher at the Regina College conservatory, fulminated against the music's allegedly pernicious influence. He composed some facetious program notes for a jazz concert:

> *Petting parties, with club variants, were a significant feature of cave-man life. The untrammelled ego has been stimulated to a remarkable degree since the war by modern conceptions of what freedom means. For this reason, the simple and vigorously direct emotional reaction of our primitive forebears are appreciated now as never before. These dynamic impulses are vividly portrayed in the selections to follow.*[33]

In a few lines Cameron hit upon some of the major themes of 1920s culture. The mood of throwing off conventional restraints in favour of "doing your own thing" was linked to the disillusionment and disorientation caused by World War I. Cameron and other critics denounced jazz because they associated it with primitive instincts and sexual freedom.

Regina College students listened to and played jazz, but not to the exclusion of other kinds of music. They danced the Charleston, but also the waltz and the two-step. The picture of "flaming youth of the 1920s," of a young generation out of control, did not really fit. Young people at Regina College tested the bounds of authority from time to time in order to see what they could get away with, but fundamentally they accepted the rules and the values of their parents and teachers.

Most of the students from farms and small towns were anything but sophisticated. As James M. Minifie remarked, the faculty "spared no effort to transmute hayseeds and threshing hands from the Soo Line or the Vanguard spur into God-fearing, informed citizens."[34] Another former student added: "Our faculty were ladies and gentlemen—well-educated, well-spoken, and well-dressed. They were not the mess university professors now often are."[35] Besides serving as role models, the teachers deliberately gave instruction in polite manners and the social graces. At mealtimes one faculty member sat at the head of each table of eight. Students who did not know what a bread and butter plate was, or who did not wait until everybody at the table was served before beginning to eat, were quickly corrected. At the beginning of term, there were many embarrassing moments. Rough farm boys had to be told laboriously "which forks and spoons to use and to cut meat one piece at a time and convey that solo piece to your mouth with your fork hand before you cut another."[36] Before too many weeks had passed, however, table manners had improved considerably.

The college also insisted upon certain standards in dress and grooming. The girls lined up in pairs for inspection before entering the dining room. Girls with uncombed hair, untidy stockings or crooked hemlines were sent back to their rooms to make themselves presentable. Boys had to wear a suit jacket and tie. Boys and girls sat on opposite sides of the dining

hall for breakfast and lunch, but the tables were "mixed" for the evening meal. The faculty member at each table guided the talk, in effect teaching the others how to carry on polite conversation.[37] Teachers expected and received respectful deference from the students. Faculty addressed students by their first name, but the teachers were invariably Mr. or Miss. When a student met a teacher on the staircase, the student stopped to allow the teacher to pass by.[38]

Girls were continually reminded what "ladies" did and did not do. Ladies did not go downtown without wearing a hat and gloves ("You don't go down the front steps putting on your gloves; they must be on before leaving"), ladies did not buy jewellery at the fifteen-cent store, and they did not wear gaudy make-up.[39] Rooms were inspected and the state of clothes closets and drawers commented upon.[40] After one particularly enjoyable party, the dean delivered a stern lecture: "Apparently, our fun had been too noisy and un-lady-like."[41] For girls "the tea" was an important social institution. They learned how to "pour" and to conduct themselves properly as hostesses. Board of governors' wives invited the girls to their homes, affording the students a glimpse of the higher levels of genteel society.[42] Among the reminiscences of female students, the theme of "behaving like a lady" appears again and again:

> *all were encouraged to be ladies at all times. One thing I remember was 'If you must chew gum go into your closet and shut the door.'*
>
> *The College was almost a 'finishing school.' I came from College feeling able to conduct myself as a lady.*
>
> *[the dean] wanted everyone of her girls to be 'ladies' and for the most part I think we went along with her ideas.*[43]

One thing a "lady" most assuredly did not do was smoke. Smoking, both for boys and girls, was an obvious way to assert oneself and defy authority. Students smoked on the sly, puffing while hanging out the window so that there would be no odour left in the room, and standing on one side of the building or the other, depending on the direction of the wind. The furtive smoker might be able to sneak a drag in the laundry room or in the garden shed.[44] Detection was easier to escape away from the college grounds: "Fell's cafe was a no-no, but we went into its secluded booths, and, after buying a 10-cent package of cigarettes, practised smoking."[45]

Smoking was considered bad behaviour, but drinking was much worse. In fact, both smoking and drinking were telltale signs of the libertine style of life identified with the stereotype of 1920s "flaming youth." There

were ways for a Regina high school student to obtain liquor illegally as a 1934 *Leader* article made clear:

> *Drinking of bootleg liquor as a more or less established custom among some collegiate students attending Saturday night dances was revealed in city police court Wednesday. Richard Huber, aged twenty-four, appeared on a charge of selling liquor to a seventeen-year old student of Scott Collegiate. He made a complete denial of the charge.*
>
> *The student in grade twelve at the Collegiate, was chief witness Wednesday. He had earned three dollars last Saturday and had gone to a dance at a hotel. He had met Huber in front of the hotel, where he had been brought from a bowling alley by a fellow student, and had asked him if he could get 'some of the same as we had a week ago.' He said, 'I believe so.' I gave him a dollar bill. . . .*[46]

Drinking among Regina College students was not common at all, but boys were usually more daring than the girls. Only the very few girls labelled "fast" were reputed to drink. By the mid-1930s a small number of the more respectable type risked "having one" on a Saturday night date in the hope that the teacher on duty in the residence would not catch them when they came in.[47] The boys took more chances, some even keeping bottles under the mattress or in a suitcase. Five boys were suspended in 1925 for drinking a small quantity of liquor on the college grounds.[48]

Students tried other forms of recreation not exactly in keeping with the norms of a Methodist church college. James M. Minifie records in his memoirs the unconventional teaching methods employed by a fellow student:

> *My other mathematical mentor was Blake Harper, a youth from Rouleau, on the rich Soo Line, who came to Regina College with a pork-pie hat and a pair of dice. He taught me how to use quadratic equations, and the theory of probability. Both quadratics and galloping dominoes, he pointed out, worked out on a plus or minus formula, whereas the theory of probability was a one-way street. The best way to learn crap-shooting, he held, was to lose twenty dollars betting on probability.*[49]

Gambling was not unknown even in the girls' residence:

> *Oh yes I learned to play poker at Regina College, Lola Murphy and I. We played for matches, as we didn't have money for anything like that. After a few hands the girl who was teaching us decided that it would be a good idea to play for 'Eats.' We'd*

had a nice 'care' package from home. Lola was too smart for that though. So she straightened out our would-be teacher and we kept our eats.[50]

Most of the infractions of the rules were relatively innocuous. For sheer excitement in the girls' residence nothing could match the "midnight feed":

The lady teacher who was on duty for that day would come to each room, open the door and say 'Goodnight girls,' and listen for one or two voices answering 'Goodnight, Miss _____.' So any mischief would have to be postponed until after she had made the rounds. From time to time a pupil would receive a parcel of food from home—often a chicken and other goodies. Friends would be invited in, then the key hole plugged, a blanket put at the bottom of the door so no light could be seen from outside. These were very special and memorable occasions.[51]

Peter McLintock, later editor of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, remembers Regina College as the place where he learned to play a half-decent game of bridge. A group of boys skipped class, locked themselves into the common room, and had two or three tables of bridge going. When a teacher came to break up the cabal, he found the door locked. By the time he returned with the key, the players had escaped out the window, clambered down the thick ivy to the front entrance and made their way back into the classroom.[52]

Students for the most part accepted the stiff discipline imposed upon them. They perhaps knew that without rules, the fun of breaking them would be lost. This was exactly the point made by a former student of Regina College who later took teacher training at the Normal School, where the rules were more flexible.

Oh College students listen!
While I sing my song of woe,
The song that comes from a has-been
A student not long ago.

I'm a Normalite at present
Now don't you envy me,
I come and go whenever I please
I'm not 'cooped' in at R.C.

I can go to a show every evening
Or else to a dance or a ball,
And when I come up to the College
I can talk to the boys in the hall.

I can stay home from church on Sundays;
There isn't a rising bell;
I eat my meals whenever I like,
And study when I like as well.

But what's the fun I'd like to know
Of having just your own say,
When you don't get called up on the carpet
At least every second day.

What fun do you have at a movie
When you've a perfect right to go,
When you don't shiver out of fear
That a teacher will come to the show?

There's no fun being out real late
When you can go home and walk in the door;
It's more thrilling to crawl in a window
And harder to do—what's more!

You miss all these fears and thrills
When you're a Normal student, you see,
And I'll say you sure miss
The ups and downs of old R.C.

So you freshettes and freshmen
When you grumble for some petty cause
Cheer up! and thank your lucky stars
You're not a 'used-to-was'![53]

Effective discipline depended upon respect for those administering it. Many alumni of Regina College recall their teachers affectionately—"the stately grace of Miss Louise Bollert, the kindness of E.R. Doxsee, the thoroughness and rather sarcastic manner of Professor Walker."[54] Wally Sterling, history teacher and rugby coach, was a "prince of a man." "We loved and respected him."[55] Another student has memories of religious education class with the Reverend Mr. Glover perched on the corner of his desk "telling us stories of his early days as a student and as a minister on the prairies." "He had red hair and was a rare personality."[56] Vera Waugh was remembered as being "strict but fair," while Flora Mooney was "everyone's ideal," "strict in her way but much softer."[57] The most esteemed professor, possibly the embodiment of what was best in the spirit of Regina College, was E. R. Doxsee. When he died in 1932, the class valedictorian paid him special tribute:

To us, who took classes from him and felt that we knew Professor Doxsee, he was the symbol of the highest and best

things in life. His kindness, his cheeriness, his never-failing patience have made a place in our hearts that cannot be filled with any other. . . . His life indeed fulfilled the motto that he himself gave us, 'Ut qui Ministrat.'[58]

Student-teacher relationships were not always smooth sailing. Chalk was occasionally flung at an inattentive pupil.[59] When one of the girls was expelled, the boys sent the women's dean a bouquet of black stained roses wrapped with black ribbon.[60] A certain teacher was regarded as a martinet always trying to catch somebody breaking a rule in order to have the pleasure of meting out punishment.[61] Then there was the female teacher who "wore pink balbraggon [*sic*: balbriggan] underpants over her knees—to stress a point she would put one foot up on a chair, the pink would show, everyone would laugh—then she would bawl us all out."[62]

Faculty were not pals with students, but they could be friends. The teachers who lived in residence often found that many aspects of their lives were an open book. When the recently married Roswell Doxsee went out to the clothesline with the baby's diapers, the girls watched and giggled.[63] Romances among the staff were followed with keen interest, the girls noting the latest developments in the courtship of Florence Tutt and Morley Willoughby, and Walter Eilers and Miss McCracken.[64] The day after the birth of Professor Jake Rempel's son, the 8:30 a.m. biology class rose as one and shouted "Yea Daddy!"[65]

The youth of Regina College in the years from the establishment of the institution in 1911 through the 1920s and 1930s were not rebellious. They may have been "full of beans" and high-spirited, they may have grumbled and complained, but in the end they obeyed. Discipline, especially for the girls, that today would be considered oppressive, was accepted with relative equanimity. Many of the students were poor. They looked upon attendance at Regina College as a privilege for which their parents were making major financial sacrifices. Furthermore, students knew the faculty were dedicated, conscientious and well-intentioned. Even if young people had desired to challenge seriously the adult-imposed moral and behavioural code, the opportunities to do so were few. Residential students were under almost constant observation—in the classroom, the dining room, the chapel, the study hall, the recreation room, and on the playing field. Time spent away from the college was closely controlled. Promotional literature boasted "The members of our staff are men and women of Christian culture and refinement, and the students unconsciously acquire the characteristics which mark the true lady or gentleman."[66] Regina College was not teaching only Latin or chemistry or mathematics; the college was teaching young people how to live—and not doing a bad job either.

NOTES

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7 URA, *Glimpses of the Last Fifty Years*, Kathleen R. McKenzie, "A Backward Look."
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33 Dan Cameron, "In the Music World," Regina *Leader*, 19 December 1925.
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64 Phyllis McGirr, 1922-25, questionnaire.
65 Lola E. Williamson, 1923-27, questionnaire.
66 URA, *Regina College Tenth Anniversary Yearbook*, 18.

SEVEN

TAKEOVER

"At the moment I feel that something has gone out of my life for I have always believed in the value of a small college as contrasted with the mass production idea of the big University."

The depression of the 1930s shattered the Saskatchewan economy and left an indelible mark on the province. The stories of drought, dust, grasshoppers, and low wheat prices have been told many times. Net farm income, which stood at $184,665,000 in 1928 fell to *minus* $31,117,000 in 1931,[1] and Saskatchewan experienced the largest per capita drop in personal income of any province in the nation. Regina College, brought to its knees by the financial crisis, faced the possibility of extinction. Academic enrolment declined from 239 in 1929 to 204 in 1930, 161 in 1931, and 134 in 1932.[2] The college lost between $25,000 and $30,000 a year on operating costs.[3]

President Stapleford, looking on the bright side as usual, pointed out that the depression had improved the quality of the students. Hardship weeded out the dilettantes; those remaining in the classroom were seriously interested in education. Nevertheless, many deserving students were prevented from going to college by lack of money. The board of governors reduced the yearly fees for tuition and board and room from $575 in 1930 to $400 in 1933, and allowed fees to be paid in farm and garden produce. In addition, ten new scholarships valued at $100 each were established, but economic conditions were so dreadful that many scholarship winners turned down the award because they could not afford to come to college.[4] The student newspaper joked grimly about the drought:

Have you heard the story of the farmer down south who fainted when it began to rain? The only way the family could revive him was to throw a couple of buckets of dust in his face.

Then there's the one about the farmer who reported to the press that the trees on his place were following the dogs around.[5]

Alfred Carter, a student who arrived at the college in September 1930, had a vivid impression of Wascana Lake, "dry as a bone," and "a nasty, dry wind" constantly blowing dust into every nook and cranny. He obtained part-time work as a janitor in Darke Hall, which was exposed to the dust-

laden, westerly winds and quite impossible to keep clean. Part of his job was to place inside each piano, and frequently replenish, a jar of water.[6] If the summers were hot and dry, the winters were excruciatingly cold. Dan Cameron observed how a prolonged cold snap impaired student performance and morale:

> *The student mind practically solidified. All tender sentiments were crushed in the desperate will to survive. Boys on the top flat [third floor of the main college building], nice chaps too, already stone broke, went stone cold as well. . . . Willing fingers stiffened over double sixths, and the warning evocations of an heroic staff fell unheeded on muffled, sometimes frozen ears.*[7]

President Stapleford, who had as good a grasp as anyone of the financial position of the college, remained undaunted. In the summer of 1930 he returned from a trip to the Prince Albert district and announced that if anyone fell victim to the "blues," he need only travel to the north to discover that Saskatchewan was "the grandest country in the world." Even when the outlook for the college was at its worst, Stapleford did not hesitate to address the Toronto Board of Trade on the theme "The West Will Come Back." He took, as many Saskatchewan people do, an almost perverse pride in the sufferings of those who live in a harsh environment. Quoting Walt Whitman, he penned in his diary:

> *Do the feasters gluttonous feast,*
> *Do the corpulent sleepers sleep,*
> *Have they locked and bolted the doors?*
> *Still be ours the diet hard and the blanket on the ground,*
> *Pioneers, O Pioneers.*[8]

A sister college in Moose Jaw, overwhelmed by the depression, folded in 1931. Founded by the Presbyterian church, the college had operated under the United Church since 1925. Stapleford generously invited Dr. Angus Graham, the president of the now-defunct college, to join the Regina College staff as instructor in religious education. Eight Moose Jaw students were transferred as well.[9]

Stapleford had a plan to save his school from sharing the same fate as Moose Jaw College. Salvation lay in expansion to include the third and fourth years of the Bachelor of Arts program. A study of the registration of the University of Saskatchewan showed indisputably that the young people who were fortunate enough to reside in Saskatoon benefited most from the university. Among graduates with a Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science degree from 1909 to 1932, 429 registered as residents of Saskatoon, while only 116, or a little more than one quarter of that number, came from Regina.[10] Meanwhile, the 1931 census listed the population

of Regina at 53,209, compared with 43,291 for Saskatoon. Stapleford saw the potential to provide a useful service for young people in Regina who desired a university education, but could not afford to go to Saskatoon.

The enrolment pattern at Regina College pointed to the necessity for an accommodation to changing circumstances. The number of high school students declined from 93 in 1930 to 52 in 1931, and 39 in 1932.[11] The second year arts class, on the other hand, increased in size from 36 in 1926 to 60 in 1932. Because of the proliferation of high schools, young people from rural areas no longer needed to come to a residential secondary college. That part of the work of Regina College was nearly finished. Stapleford saw a new purpose to replace the old in meeting the demand for undergraduate training in Regina and southern Saskatchewan.

President Walter C. Murray of the University of Saskatchewan was determined not to let his happen. He held as an article of faith the belief that the province of Saskatchewan could support only one first-rate university and the university had to be in Saskatoon. The stage was set for a major struggle between Regina and Saskatoon and between Stapleford and Murray. By 1934 Murray won a victory, in that the university assumed control of the college and prevented, or at least delayed, the emergence of a second university.

The story of the struggle has been partially told in three books. W.P. Thompson's *The University of Saskatchewan: A Personal History* links the developments of the early 1930s to the lingering "disappointment and bitterness" experienced by Regina citizens over the selection in 1909 of Saskatoon as the university site. He implies that much grief could have been avoided had Regina citizens been less parochial and dutifully given the university the support it so richly deserved.[12] This point of view is perhaps understandable from an author who was president of the university from 1949 to 1959. David R. Murray and Robert A. Murray, in their biography of Walter Murray entitled *The Prairie Builder*, present the subordination and stultification of Regina College as one of the stellar achievements of their subject's career. Though no relation of Walter Murray, the authors are strong advocates of his position. They observe that the prospect of a rival university was Murray's "obsessive concern" and that "no other matter pursued Walter Murray more relentlessly throughout a quarter century. Equally, to no other issue were his considerable talents marshalled so implacably in opposition."[13] A distinct note of triumph creeps into the biography when Murray slays the Regina College dragon. "Murray could now relax knowing there was no longer a real danger that the political or sectarian rivalry that he had feared might spring up in Saskatchewan higher education."[14] Michael Hayden in his history of the University of Saskatchewan, *Seeking a Balance*, argues that

Murray forestalled for a generation the establishment of a university in Regina.[15] However, Hayden also expresses the opinion that, regardless of the policy of Murray or any of his successors, a university in Regina was probably inevitable.[16] Seen in the long-range perspective, Hayden implies, Murray's skilful manoeuvering in the 1930s has diminished importance.

All three books more or less ignore Stapleford's arguments for a small liberal arts college for Regina. The various authors, Hayden to a lesser degree than the others, assert that Regina was out of line in demanding her own university. But did the benefits of centralized university education truly outweigh the costs? A close examination of the dispute brings to light not only civic rivalry but also philosophical differences about the nature of higher education and how it could be made available to the maximum number of students.

Walter Murray's inflexible opposition to a second university in the province derived, in part, from his Maritime background. A native of New Brunswick and a former professor of philosophy at the University of New Brunswick and Dalhousie, he deplored what he considered the bad influence of sectarianism and sectionalism upon university education in the east.[17] In the early nineteenth century there were six or seven institutions with degree-conferring power in Nova Scotia, a similar number in Ontario, and two in New Brunswick. Murray argued in a paper entitled "The Junior College Idea in Canada" that by the '840s the waste, inefficiency, low standards, and sectarian bitterness that accompanied decentralization had so alarmed the friends of higher education that a movement was started in favour of federation, culminating in the federation of universities in Ontario in 1887. According to Murray, the lesson had not been lost on the leaders of educational opinion in western Canada, as was evident from Premier Haultain's decision in 1903 to have only one university in the North-West Territories. After the achievement of provincial status, the legislators of Saskatchewan had followed the same principle in allowing one university the exclusive right to confer degrees.

Murray drew a sharp distinction between a junior college and a university. By his definition, a university employed the lecture system and the seminar method, whereas junior college instruction resembled the recitation lessons of a secondary school. A junior college lacked both the type of library needed to support university courses and the laboratory facilities suitable for advanced instruction and research in the sciences. Murray believed that these differences in methods and resources were incidental to a deeper difference. A certain intangible spirit, an intellectual and social atmosphere, permeated a university, setting it completely apart from junior institutions.[18]

Murray appeared to have no understanding or sympathy for Stapleford's idea of a small Regina liberal arts college functioning cooperatively with the University of Saskatchewan. Stapleford did not have in mind a huge institution competing with the Saskatoon university in every department, but rather a modest operation with not more than three hundred students enrolled in the four-year program.[19] The southern college would not significantly cut into the Saskatoon enrolment because many of Regina's students, for lack of funds, were currently not attending university. Regina College could help, rather than hinder, the university by acting as a feeder for its graduate and professional programs.

Stapleford criticized what he called the "Henry Ford method of education"—the mass production of graduates on the academic assembly line.[20] He urged a place for the small college where students were not anonymous units, but individuals personally acquainted with their professors. Murray spoke of the "intangible spirit" and "intellectual and social atmosphere" of the university; Stapleford replied on behalf of the small liberal arts college, with its own spirit and atmosphere to command the loyalty of its students and beneficially shape their development.

The confrontation between Stapleford and Murray coloured the decision to allow Regina College to become in 1925 a junior college affiliated with the University of Saskatchewan. This entitled Regina to offer second year arts classes, that is, the second year beyond junior matriculation (grade eleven) or the first year beyond senior matriculation (grade twelve). In today's terms, second year arts classes would be equivalent to first year university. Regina College was not the only junior college. The university gave the same status to Campion College, Regina (Catholic); Luther College, Regina (Lutheran); Outlook College, Outlook (Lutheran); Sacred Heart College, Regina (Catholic); St. Peter's College, Muenster (Catholic); and Moose Jaw Central Collegiate. The junior colleges appointed their own staff to teach the courses, but members of the university faculty set the examination papers and marked them. Generally speaking, the university was not happy with the work done and judged the whole experiment of doubtful value.[21] Murray's only reason for recognising junior colleges was to prevent Regina College from becoming a university. As he explained to the president of the University of Alberta:

> *The Junior College movement here was advocated for the simple reason that I did not see any other way to head off a very serious and dangerous attack which would have gathered behind it the strength of the Capital, the largest city in the province, and would have been promoted by the leaders of at least two churches, one of them exceedingly powerful and well-entrenched. I have reason to believe that they would have succeeded in securing at least degree conferring power.*

Regina College was cramped by the limitations of junior college status. Stapleford, in May 1926, applied for permission to teach two more courses, German and chemistry. Dean G.H. Ling replied that the university opposed Regina's teaching a large number of second year arts classes because "it opened the road to a demand on behalf of a student who might have taken more than five classes, each of which had been recognized for Junior College purposes, that he be given recognition of each of these classes so taken, even though the number of them exceeded five." The response revealed sensitivity to any move by Regina College to expand beyond second year arts. Stapleford assured Saskatoon that he had no such intention "at this time." Ling, in communicating this information to Murray, double underlined the words, "at this time."[23]

Murray took precautions to block any attempt by Regina College to link up with another United Church college, Victoria University, which was part of the University of Toronto. Precedents had been established by the affiliation of the French Catholic college in Gravelbourg with the University of Ottawa, and Campion College in Regina with the College of St. Boniface of the University of Manitoba. Gravelbourg and Campion did not worry Murray because they offered only courses in scholastic philosophy that did not compete with the university. A liaison between Regina College and Victoria University, on the other hand, posed a serious threat to Saskatoon's monopoly power to confer a degree.[24] Murray wrote his friend, Robert Falconer, a former Presbyterian theological professor from Halifax and now president of the University of Toronto, "Dr. Stapleford is seized with the ambition to make the College a University.... I told him emphatically that I believed the policy was educationally wrong." Falconer promised to block any affiliation with Victoria University.[25] Murray also obtained Saskatchewan premier J.G. Gardiner's assurance that his government "would not be likely" to grant money to Regina College.[26]

Stapleford continued hopefully and, in retrospect, naively, to seek the good will of the University of Saskatchewan. The Regina College board of governors authorized in May 1929 the opening of negotiations leading to a four-year program, and a written proposal reached President Murray in November 1930. Stapleford suggested the federation of Regina College with the university in much the same way that Victoria University was federated with the University of Toronto. Regina would have a four-year college, but the university would still set the examinations and confer the degrees. The university's monopoly over degrees would not be impaired. Stapleford asked that the university put up a science building in Regina, which "would give visibility to the bond uniting us to the University and would be tangible evidence that the Federated Colleges were a real part

of the University." The university rejected the entire proposal on the grounds that it would divide and disperse the university's scarce resources: "We are of the opinion that neither the needs of the province, nor its financial ability justify any division of the University's resources or equipment." Murray estimated the capital cost of a new science building at $300,000 with an annual operation charge of at least $40,000. The government had just announced a cutback of its funding to the university, forcing the postponement of the construction of a promised arts building. The advent of the depression removed all hope of major university expenditures in Saskatoon, let alone Regina.[27]

Stapleford also approached the Carnegie Corporation for financial support to implement the four-year plan. Founded by the American millionaire philanthropist Andrew Carnegie, the Carnegie Corporation and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching donated large sums of money for worthy educational projects. Stapleford's trust in the university led him to ask for a supporting letter to the Carnegie Corporation. However, unknown to Stapleford, Dean Ling's letter was intended to defeat, rather than assist, the application. Ling outlined the history of the Regina-Saskatoon rivalry, adding complacently that he "would be very glad to see Regina College prosper in what I regard as its proper sphere of activity." Walter Murray, who sat on the board of trustees of the Carnegie Foundation, also used his considerable influence to bury the Regina College application. Nowhere was the hostile attitude of the University of Saskatchewan better illustrated.[28]

In the light of the failure to obtain a grant from the Carnegie Corporation and the university's rejection of Stapleford's initial proposal, he now revised his plans for the four-year arts course. The science building would have to be postponed until the financial climate improved. The faculty had to be increased in size from eight to eleven, raising annual operating costs of the college to about $46,065. Stapleford estimated revenue from tuition, based upon enrolment projections, of $25,430, leaving a deficit of $20,635. He hoped to recover this amount by persuading ten prominent Regina citizens to each donate $500 per year for the next four years, by raising another $10,000 during the annual fall canvass, and by securing about $6,000 from donors in eastern Canada. Another $10,000 needed for alterations to the college building to make it suitable for the teaching of the new courses would have to be borrowed.[29]

In October 1931 Stapleford presented a new proposal to the university. As in the first submission, he sought approval for the college to undertake third and fourth year work in arts in federation with the university, but this time there would be no cost to the university. Furthermore, Stapleford promised not to ask the government for grants, but to leave that source

of funding as the exclusive preserve of the university.[30] This proposal was surely harder for Murray to reject flatly but he did so, nonetheless. While the president acknowledged Stapleford had met the objection that provincial revenues were capable of supporting only one university, Murray doubted Regina could, in the long run, keep its promise. "Are we to assume that you will not come to the Province or the University for financial assistance in the near future, as soon as the magnitude of your undertaking is realized?" Murray did not think Stapleford really understood what was involved in offering third and fourth year classes. The subjects of the first two years were mainly compulsory, elementary courses in the languages, natural sciences and social sciences, but those of the third and fourth years were mainly elective. Three or more advanced classes, taught by instructors with graduate degrees, had to be offered in each subject. Costly library and laboratory facilities had to be provided. Murray was convinced that once the full implications of a four-year program were known in Regina, Stapleford would have to go to the government for money.[31]

Stapleford defended Regina College's ability to give good quality instruction in the third and fourth years. He reminded Murray the college had no intention of offering a Bachelor of Science, only the Bachelor of Arts. Planned for the third and fourth years were five classes in each of English, French, economics, philosophy, and history, and three classes in Latin. Laboratories would be upgraded to allow the teaching of Biology 1 and to improve the facilities for physics and chemistry. Fifteen hundred dollars had been set aside for library acquisitions. Responding to Murray's comment about the need for a well-qualified teaching staff, Stapleford agreed that all instructors should have post-graduate training. He pointed out that the college currently employed eight faculty members for second year arts of whom four had their Master's degree, one his doctorate, and three had taken some post-graduate courses.[32]

Stapleford received some encouragement for his campaign from Premier J.T.M. Anderson, the Conservative leader who defeated the long-reigning Liberals in the provincial election of 1929. Anderson used the occasion of the Regina College commencement exercises in June 1931 to predict the eventual granting of degree-conferring privileges to the smaller colleges in the province. President Murray immediately fired off a letter to the premier setting forth all the arguments against decentralization in higher education. Anderson claimed the newspapers had distorted his remarks, but he did not back down from the position that small colleges might in the future offer the full arts course, even if they did not grant degrees.[33]

Stapleford took his case to the public in a January 1932 address to the Regina Board of Trade. He reviewed the two proposals made to the

university and the, to his mind, unreasonable responses they had elicited. An editorial had been published in the alumni bulletin of the University of Saskatchewan with the apparent intent of arousing the alumni against a four-year program in Regina. The editorial warned of a threat to "the very existence of the University as well as the cause of higher education," to which Stapleford replied:

> *Is there any reason why the University of Saskatchewan should not invite any college in this Province, which is willing without any expense to the University to give its students instruction in the courses laid down by the University?. . .If the University recognizes its function as a degree conferring body it will render a great service to the Province by having one standard to which all colleges desiring to do University work must conform. It is most desirable that the University authorities will not force the colleges to seek degree conferring powers from the Legislature.*[34]

Stapleford appealed for a sense of fair play and the breaking up of arrogant monopolies: "In Homeric days the Greeks complained that the gods dwelt apart on Mount Olympus feasting on ambrosia and nectar, unmindful of the needs of men. We in Regina would like to receive some consideration." He cited the advantages of a small college over a large, impersonal university, but, most of all, he denounced the injustice of refusing a university education to many eligible young people in Regina and southern Saskatchewan.

Stapleford's stand attracted newspaper support in Regina: "For Regina parents contemplating sending their children to university this [a complete arts course at Regina College] would be particularly satisfactory. It would save the expense of sending them away from home, and would appeal on other grounds. . . ."[35] Murray countered by having Sir F.W.G. Haultain, chancellor of the university and a senior statesman in the Conservative party, pronounce publicly on the controversy. At a banquet of the Regina branch of the University of Saskatchewan Alumni Association honoring his seventh-fourth birthday, Haultain declared: "In the future more than one university might be good for the province, but not before the population has increased to two or three million people. . .I say to you alumni, stand on guard for the cause of the old institution."[36]

At this juncture, Murray made an exceedingly clever move. He invited the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching to carry out an investigation and prepare a report on the university situation in Saskatchewan. The man selected for the task was W.S. Learned, an individual well known to Murray. The two men had worked together in

1923 in connection with a Manitoba royal commission on education.[37] Murray had also read Learned's report on higher education in the Maritime Provinces, a report with a distinctly centralist bias. The Carnegie expert would be just the person to help combat what the University of Saskatchewan president termed the "dangerous heresy" that had broken out in the province.[38] Murray was using the prestige of the Carnegie Foundation as a weapon against his Regina enemies. To make opposition to the report even more difficult for Stapleford, Learned collaborated with E.W. Wallace, principal of Victoria University, Toronto. Victoria, like Regina College, was sponsored by the United Church of Canada.

The university invited Regina College to cooperate in setting up the Carnegie inquiry. Stapleford initially allowed himself to be drawn into a discussion of the membership of the commission, but then he backed away:

> *The situation is that no matter what report may be brought in by any Commission Regina College is going on with the course leading to a B.A. degree. The question then resolves itself to the problem as to whether the University would prefer to have Regina College do this work under the aegis of the University or whether the University would prefer to see Regina College carry on the work independent of the University. If I were officially connected with the University I would not need a Commission to tell me which of the two alternatives would be preferable.*[39]

Learned and Wallace spent a week in February 1932 talking with people and collecting information in Regina and Saskatoon. Their report, *Local Provision For Higher Education in Saskatchewan*, principally drafted by Learned, repudiated Regina's plan for a four-year degree course:

> *it is planned, without endowments or any assured income whatever, and in the midst of the worst financial crisis of recent history, to embark immediately on the most expensive end of a college education in the hope that, by offering a degree, enough students may be gathered to rescue the institution from threatened disaster. In the judgment of the Commission this is indefensible.*[40]

Learned set a figure of $1 million as the minimum endowment required to support a worthwhile degree program. In actual fact, Regina College had an endowment of only $1,000. The report agreed with Murray's contention that, despite Stapleford's protestations, the college would inevitably seek the aid of the legislature:

It is incredible that, with the pressure of this hand-to-mouth condition constantly upon it, in a community of educated and sympathetic people—the capital of the province, with constant access to important sources of political influence—the proposal for Provincial Aid should not eventually be raised and ultimately carried.[41]

Learned conceded that the strongest argument put forward by Regina College had to do with the geographical distribution of students at the university. Since 1909, only about one-fourth as many graduates with a B.A. or B.Sc. degree had come from Regina compared with those who came from Saskatoon (116 compared with 429). The university contended that many students who gave Saskatoon as their address were only temporary residents. Learned pointed out that even if a 40 percent reduction were made on that score, the disproportion between Saskatoon and Regina was still 258 to 116 or more than two to one. Other factors to be considered included the tendency of sons and daughters of university faculty to enrol as students and the preference by some Regina families to send their children to older universities in eastern Canada. However, when all was said and done, even Learned admitted the existence of a problem. His solution, however, was not to recommend provision of third and fourth year courses in Regina, but a massive student loan program to help young people from outside Saskatoon finance their university education. The report mentioned the allocation of $100,000 per year for four years to set up a revolving loan fund, a recommendation, of course, that never saw the light of day.

Having ruled out a university in Regina, the Carnegie report suggested a different future development for the college. Rather than evolving "upward" into a university, Regina College should expand "outward" into a community college, providing technical and vocational training, adult education, and a good general education for those not capable of or interested in university studies. The college could continue to enrich the cultural life of the community in a multitude of ways. The report cited the Conservatory of Music and the Department of Expression as two fine examples of the type of work that could be done.

Learned and Wallace further proposed a coordination of all four junior colleges operating in the city (Campion, Sacred Heart, Luther and Regina College), together with the collegiates, in order to make the most efficient possible use of existing educational resources. The core of this group of institutions would be Central Collegiate, which had seventeen grade twelve teachers, who received an average annual salary of $2,600. Regina College, in comparison, had eight senior teachers who earned on the average $2,100. A pooling of resources would result in a superior junior college, giving a sound preparation for university training as well as a full range of non-academic courses.

For President Murray, the Carnegie report was literally made to order and coincided exactly with the conclusions contained in his annual report to the university in 1931.[42] Murray had demonstrated his abilities as the "consummate academic politician."[43] Through his connections as a member of the board of trustees of the Carnegie Foundation, he had brought in outside experts to do an "objective" analysis of the problems relating to higher education in Saskatchewan, knowing full well what the experts would say. He expressed unalloyed delight with the report, calling it a "masterpiece. . .admitted by all those who agreed and those who were disappointed to be unanswerable. I believe it has disposed of the problem for at least twenty years."[44] Murray was anxious to preserve the fiction of an arm's length relationship to the commission. He wanted to have many copies of the report distributed, but he arranged to have it printed in New York "so that our friends might not think that we were too aggressive in spreading the good news."[45] Murray's gratitude to Learned for his assistance in neutralising the "Regina problem" led to the offer of an honourary degree in 1934. The Carnegie official's letter declining the honour warrants quoting:

> *I have recently been called in consultation by the institution and my name is still more or less connected with an opinion of which the University was sole beneficiary. I have the instinctive feeling that under these circumstances I ought not to risk inferences, however unwarranted, that would put either the University or myself in a false light.*[46]

After a decent interval of two years, Learned received his honourary doctorate of laws.

Stapleford shared none of Murray's delight in the Carnegie report. The Regina College president disliked the strong prejudice in favour of centralization and the report's failure to appreciate the advantages of a small college. However, Stapleford was forced to concede that, for the time being at least, finances did not permit the development of a full four-year arts program. Murray, very keen to induce Regina College to accept the conclusions of the Carnegie recommendations, was prepared to offer financial incentives: "We are all anxious that Regina College should not be forced to the wall and I think the University might give some assistance in helping it over the difficult times if it were willing to carry out the recommendations of your [Learned's] report."[47] The university offered to send, at no cost to Regina College, Professor G. Britnell to teach a course in economics and Professor W. Ramsay to teach a course in Latin. The university further agreed to award a diploma of Associate in Arts to students who had successfully completed the two-year junior college program. Finally, and most importantly, cooperation and support would

be given to the Regina Conservatory of Music. Arthur Collingwood, university professor of music, would lecture regularly and frequently in Regina, and the university would support an application by the conservatory for a $15,000 grant from the Carnegie Corporation.[48]

To obtain all these favours, Regina College had only to give up the idea of third and fourth year arts. The board of governors cautiously accepted the university's terms, while "wish[ing] it understood that they are not in any way curtailing or agreeing to curtail or abandon their right or desire to expand along advanced lines in any direction that they may at any time in the future see fit and when in their opinion conditions warrant such expansion."[49] Murray was not at all pleased: "Am I concluding aright that your Board are now expressing through this resolution that our negotiations have been on your part a mere temporary expedient to carry you over this period of depression?"[50] Despite the continuing antagonism, the university and the college arrived at an uneasy truce. Stapleford suspended efforts for expansion and, in exchange, Regina College received $15,000 for its music program from the Carnegie Corporation and the other benefits promised by the university.[51]

Meanwhile, as the depression settled in, the financial condition of the college went from bad to worse. Capital debt was not the main concern. With assets in land, buildings, and equipment of approximately $822,000, the college carried a relatively small capital debt load of $33,800. The seemingly insoluble problem was the inability to balance the current account. Although the college had always lost money on operations, Stapleford had in past years been able to solicit sufficient donations to cover the deficit. Now the deficits were much larger, of the order of $25,000 per year rather than $9,000, and the donations were fewer and smaller.[52]

Stapleford returned disappointed from a fund-raising trip to eastern Canada in the fall of 1931. He considered journeying to England to test the waters there, but E.W. Beatty, president of the CPR, and others advised him that the results would be no better in England. Finally, in the summer of 1933, Stapleford decided he had no recourse but to seek financial help overseas. He and Colonel J.A. Cross travelled together and managed to raise only $5,000. Cross later reported, "everything had been done humanly possible and the trip was not a financial success simply because it could not be done."[53] Stapleford turned to the Carnegie Corporation with a request for an endowment of $500,000 to support a four-year degree program. When the application was turned down, Stapleford more modestly asked for $12,500 a year for four years simply to maintain the junior college. This, too, was refused.[54]

Another possible source of funds was the United Church of Canada. Before union in 1925, the Methodist church had given strong support to

educational endeavours, including a $150,000 grant to Regina College in 1920. Stapleford became aware of a subtle difference between the attitude of the United Church towards the college and the previous attitude of the Methodist church. The Reverend Dr. J.W. Graham, secretary of the board of education of the United Church, complained to Stapleford about the college fund-raising campaign scheduled for the first week of November 1925. Graham worried that the canvass on behalf of the college would undermine the first major fund-raising drive by the United Church, which was also planned for November. He reminded Stapleford that the United Church had not yet settled its educational policy, and an ill-timed financial appeal might awaken prejudice in the church against giving money to secondary colleges.[55]

Stapleford was stung by the criticism. The fall canvass was a college tradition, aimed not solely at Methodists, but citizens of all classes and denominations. What made the criticism even more unfair was the vigorous support Stapleford had given the United Church. The college board of governors had temporarily released him from his duties as president in order that he could accept the challenging position of chairman of the United Church fund-raising campaign for southern Saskatchewan. Stapleford, feeling bitterly the implied accusation of disloyalty to the church, tendered his resignation as campaign chairman. He suspected the source of all the intrigue and trouble might be Dr. Charles Endicott, missionary superintendent for the United Church in Saskatchewan:

> *I told the Committee I was still willing to go on and help the Campaign speaking throughout the Province, but I was not willing to act as Chairman of the Committee when there was a man on the Committee who considered it his duty to spy on us and send reports which were not true regarding conducting the Campaign. You can well understand that we had a jolly good row and I have given Dr. Endicott to understand that I am not going to stand any further nonsense from him. I presume that in the Committee I went a little far in labelling Endicott a spy and a traitor. I did it in his presence just to let him know what I thought of him because this attitude of the Missionary Superintendent regarding Education has been very evident for the last five years.*[56]

In the end, Stapleford was persuaded to withdraw his resignation and lead the campaign. The episode revealed the tensions in the church between missionary work and education. Stapleford put the matter bluntly: "I know the attitude of the Missionary Societies towards the Budget and I know they have done all they could to keep the Educational Fund out of the Budget. . .the question is whether the United Church is going to run the

Missionary Society or the Missionary Society is going to run the United Church."[57]

Another disturbing factor was the lack of agreement among Presbyterians and Methodists with respect to church support of secondary and post-secondary education. Presbyterians were more inclined to the view that the church should not be directly involved in education, except for theological training. At the time of union, Stapleford wondered whether the United Church would reflect Methodist policy or Presbyterian policy. Would the United Church abandon Regina College in the same way that the Presbyterian church had given up Queen's University in Kingston?[58] That Stapleford's fears were not unfounded was evident from the preparation of the church budget in 1926. The secretary of the United Church board of education noted: "the Presbyterian estimates had nothing in for Secondary work but I have kept an amount in our estimates for the teaching of religion next year."[59] Stapleford promptly insisted that the United Church should not accept the Presbyterian attitude that secondary education deserved no church aid, except for the teaching of religion.[60] Interestingly, Walter Murray was a Presbyterian and a strong backer of church union.[61] He was a force to be reckoned with in the councils of the United Church and not likely to use his influence in Regina's interest.

The United Church appointed a commission to determine policy on church funding of secondary schools. The recommendation in 1926 favoured grants for religious instruction, but called for the discontinuance of grants for maintenance purposes. In the case of Regina College, the new guidelines would have reduced the size of the grant from $6,250 to $1,250. Fortunately, the board of education sent back the commission's report for further consideration and reinstated the former grants.[62] The issue surfaced again in 1929. Stapleford made a presentation before the board, arguing that, since Regina College taught first and second year arts, it should not be classified as a secondary school and was entitled to a grant of $40 for each student above junior matriculation. The board's rejection of Stapleford's motion struck a severe blow to the college, which had incurred an operating deficit in 1929-30 of over $20,000.[63]

By 1933 finances were in an even more perilous state. Every conceivable cost-saving measure had been implemented, from across-the-board salary reductions to admonitions to turn out the lights when rooms were not in use.[64] Attempts to raise money in eastern Canada, in England, and from the Carnegie Corporation in New York had all proven fruitless. Without a large infusion of cash, the college would be forced to the wall, and Stapleford could only hope the United Church would not allow this to happen. When he compared the situation of Regina College with that of a sister institution, Luther College, he had reason for despair. The Ohio

Conference of the Lutheran Church had borne the entire cost of building Luther College and provided $15,000 annually to keep it operating. Regina College had been built with donations from more than one thousand farmers and five hundred city-dwellers in Saskatchewan. The United Church in the 1930s was giving less than $1,000 a year for maintenance and upkeep.[65] Desperate appeals by Stapleford for a special grant of $5,000 were turned down.[66] The failure of the United Church to be more generous was only partly due to its own financial weakness. Opinion was divided as to whether church colleges were valuable or necessary. Some held the view that they paled in importance compared with the mission fields, while many Presbyterians who joined the union in 1925 questioned whether the church should be involved in education at all. Whatever the reason, Regina College was turned away, empty-handed, from the parent church.

Stapleford, for lack of any other option, revived the idea of increasing the enrolment and income of Regina College by offering a four-year course. Having been rebuffed by the University of Saskatchewan, he broached the possibility of affiliation with Queen's University with Principal W. Hamilton Fyfe:

> *We shall need to look to you for assistance in choosing staff. We would prefer to have men trained in the traditions of Queen's with at least a Master's degree in their chosen field and if possible some teaching experience and additional post-graduate work to their credit. There are some good men at present on our staff, but when we undertake this additional work we shall require a capable man in each of English Literature, Classics and History. At present we are well staffed in Mathematics, Chemistry, French, Philosophy and Economics.*[67]

Fyfe evinced definite interest and discussed Stapleford's proposal with the Queen's vice-principal and deans, all of whom reacted favourably:

> *Affiliation should be beneficial to Queen's, to your College and to the young people of Regina. The only snag, as far as we can see, lurks at the foot of page twenty of your Calendar: 'Regina College is now a recognized Junior College in affiliation with the University of Saskatchewan.' I do not see how we could properly affiliate a College that is already affiliated elsewhere. The family relationships would be too baffling! Would it be possible for you, before officially approaching Queen's, to arrange to 'disaffiliate' Regina College from the provincial university?*[68]

President Murray somehow found out about the discussions taking place between Regina College and Queen's and communicated with his

friend, Robert Falconer, president of the University of Toronto. Falconer in turn contacted Fyfe about the University of Saskatchewan's opposition to a four-year course at Regina, at which point Fyfe broke off negotiations with Stapleford. The principal of Queen's abashedly expressed regret at the news of the projected affiliation leaking out, but told Stapleford that Queen's could not engage in "unbrotherly behaviour" towards the University of Saskatchewan. "I am rather afraid that this lays a stymie across the path of any plans you may have had in mind, but I think I sent the only possible reply and I feel that you ought to know it at once."[69] Murray's superior connections had once again enabled him to derail Stapleford's plans.

The University of Saskatchewan now saw an opportunity to end the Regina College threat permanently by taking control of the college. Representatives from the two boards of governors met in Regina on 19 December 1933. Regina College was willing to turn over all of its buildings and property, worth more than $800,000, if the university agreed to give, in the not distant future, third and fourth year arts in Regina. Without this guarantee, Regina College would only go so far as to offer a five-year lease. The meeting broke up in good humour, but without an agreement.[70]

When negotiations resumed on 29 December 1933 the university reiterated its refusal to accept a short-term lease. The conversation turned to the question of Dr. Stapleford's future after the takeover. Murray, who wanted badly to be rid of Stapleford, argued that his retention as head of the college would be interpreted by the other junior colleges as a sign that the university would neglect them in favour of Regina College. The Regina representatives bluntly informed Murray that Stapleford would stay. The other delicate issue concerned third and fourth year arts courses. Colonel J.A. Cross, a member of the Regina board, formed the impression that the university was not ruling out the possibility of a degree program in Regina. While no definite assurances were given, Cross concluded, perhaps wishfully, that, when economic conditions improved, extension to the third and fourth years was more or less inevitable.[71] The press encouraged the same expectation: "While full university courses will not be available immediately at the college, it is anticipated that complete degree work will eventually be available in Regina."[72] A great deal of future controversy and bitter debate hinged on that word, "eventually."

The university spelled out its terms for taking over Regina College in a document dated 13 January 1934.

1. The Governors of Regina College would transfer the buildings and property of the college to the University.

2. *The University would assume the obligations of Regina College which the College estimated will be approximately $72,000 at March 31, 1934 of which amount $17,500 is in the form of mortgage.*

3. *The University would continue and maintain Regina College as a Junior College conserving the best of the past and seeking to realize the ideals of culture and character which inspired the founders.*

4. *The University would continue the staff of the Conservatory of Music.*

5. *The University would appoint to the University staff such members of the academic and administrative staff of the College as have given long and excellent service, giving them the same status, rights and privileges (including pensions) as are enjoyed by other members of the University staff of corresponding ranks, but reserving the right to determine how and where they may render the best service.*

6. *The University would appoint an Advisory Committee of the University Board of Governors and four of the Board of Regina College to have oversight of the work of the College, to make expenditures within the amounts authorized by the University Board, to certify accounts for payment and to make such recommendations as they see fit.*[73]

The university promised in another letter "to maintain the high standard of excellence of the Conservatory of Music and enlarge its sphere of usefulness" and, as soon as financial conditions permitted, to open a school of art.[74]

Members of the Regina board were not altogether satisfied with the university's terms. They inserted an additional clause to read: "The question of expansion to a University college shall be an open question for determination by the future." The university accepted this, but was at pains to state clearly that the amendment did not commit the university to a policy of expansion. The university was merely not debarred from such a policy should future conditions warrant it. On this key issue, therefore, Saskatoon won an important victory.

The Regina board was also unhappy because the university's terms failed to guarantee Stapleford's tenure as head of the college. Murray let Stapleford know that his talents for securing funds and attracting students would not be required under the new regime, since the university would look after the finances. Successful administration would now depend chiefly

upon the quality of the teaching. To remove Stapleford from the presidency, Murray offered his opponent a position as professor of sociology in the highest teaching rank at a salary of $5000, with deductions on account of the financial emergency of $950.[75] Stapleford took umbrage at the suggestion that he was mainly a fund-raiser and lost no time in setting Murray straight: "My Board thinks that I have been much more to the College than simply a financial agent as you suggest in your letter." Stapleford repeated his theme, which Murray never seemed to grasp fully, of the special value of a small liberal arts college with a distinctive spirit and atmosphere:

> *Our Board holds the view that a college should have a spirit and personality all its own. A college is something more than bricks and mortar, something more even than books and lectures. The personality of a college centres largely around its principal, backed up by a loyal staff. My aim has been to build up a college here, not in any sense in competition with the University, for in spiritual values there should be no competition, but different from the University. I see no reason why I could not be absolutely loyal to the University and also loyal to my ideal of a small college.*[76]

Murray feared Stapleford would soon become bored with routine administration: "His unbounding vitality, his intellectual alertness, and his restless activity call for a heavier task than that."[77] As long as Stapleford was around, the cause of expansion to a full degree program at Regina College would not die.

Despite Murray's campaign to drive Stapleford out, the Regina board of governors could not be budged and Murray had to capitulate. The university added a clause to the agreement: "The present President of Regina College is to be appointed Principal of the administrative staff and a member of the academic staff of the College."[78] Murray, aged sixty-seven, consoled himself with the thought that Stapleford was fifty-nine years old and due to retire in five or six years. Murray also made provision for the appointment of a dean of Regina College to supervise the academic staff. The dean would be Murray's man and circumvent the authority of the principal.

The Regina board of governors raised one final objection to the university's terms. They sought and obtained an assurance that Darke Hall would be administered, in accordance with the intention of its donor, jointly for the benefit of the citizens of Regina and the university.[79]

Stapleford made one last, desperate effort to prevent the merger of the college with the university. He fervently argued for the alternative of

expansion to third and fourth year arts in affiliation with Queen's University. In a letter to the principal of Queen's dated 5 January 1934 Stapleford was still hopeful the board would spurn the University of Saskatchewan:

> *At the present moment it is very doubtful that we will accept the offer of the University [of Saskatchewan]. We want to develop a work here in no sense in competition with the Provincial University but different from the University. . .I cannot bring myself to believe in the Henry Ford method of education. For us absorption would simply mean loss of personality. We would be a branch factory.*[80]

The four-hour meeting of the board of governors, 16 January 1934, was of decisive importance. Stapleford waged what he later described as a "big fight for our independence." He received valuable support from Chief Justice Brown, chairman of the board of governors, who also wanted to keep the college out of the clutches of the university. After the meeting, individuals on the board came to see Stapleford and told him that, much as they cherished the independence of the college, they could not imagine how a four-year program could be financed. At least the University of Saskatchewan would pay the bills. After much soul-searching Chief Justice Brown reluctantly advised acceptance of the university's offer. Stapleford was crushed: "At the moment I feel that something has gone out of my life for I have always believed in the value of the small college as contrasted with the mass production idea of the big University."[81]

The university was able to assume the debts of the college with the help of a $50,000 grant from the Carnegie Corporation. Ironically, Stapleford had been refused a grant of identical size ($12,500 annually for four years), which would have sustained the independent life of the college. The Regina College board accepted the university's terms as amended 22 January 1934.[82] In a gesture of symbolic protest, Stapleford requested to have his alternative plan for the four-year course entered into the minutes. He was sure a major mistake was being made. Murray, meanwhile, savoured the moment. When the president of the University of Toronto praised him for having accomplished "a great piece of work in thus unifying higher education in Saskatchewan," Murray nodded in quiet agreement.[83] The University of Saskatchewan president had certainly served his institution well; whether he served the educational needs of potential university students in Regina equally well was very doubtful.

One hurdle remained—to obtain the consent of the United Church of Canada for the transfer of Regina College to the University of Saskatchewan. This seemed more a technicality than an obstacle, given the indifference of the church in the past to the financial plight of the college.

The deliberations of the United Church board of education in Toronto in April 1934 came, therefore, as a surprise and revelation. The college had loyal defenders, who argued vehemently against letting it go. Principal Walter Brown of Victoria University led the opposition to the takeover and "carried all before him." Chief Justice Brown of Regina confessed to receiving a "jolt" from the fervour displayed, while Stapleford was thrilled and uplifted by the unexpected turn of events. Perhaps there was still a glimmer of hope for the independence of Regina College.[84]

The board of education, which had been expected to dispose of the issue in an hour or so, debated for the better part of two days.[85] Most of the board members held the view that a church school provided a type of education not possible in a state-run school—an education involving not merely intellectual training, but also character development and a philosophy of life. They searched for a way to keep the college operating under church auspices and ultimately passed a resolution calling upon the executive council to "take every possible step to retain this great educational institution within the church." Concretely, the board asked the executive to "recommend Regina College to the generosity of the whole United Church" and to "make a special annual grant of $10,000 to Regina College for a period of three years."[86] Since 1911, people who belonged to the Methodist church or the United Church had contributed in total approximately $1,109,000 to the college. The board of education would not stand idly by and allow the school to be lost without a struggle.

President Murray was somewhat taken aback by the unanticipated resistance in the church to the takeover:

> *I did not believe that they cared so greatly about it. In the United Church there are two groups—the old Presbyterian which was reconciled to all education below Theological training being in the hands of the secular authorities, and the Methodist Church, which maintained that Secondary and University education should, if possible, be controlled by the Church. This group feared the loss of Regina College was a serious weakening of their position.*[87]

Murray felt reasonably confident the executive council would not endorse the recommendations of the board of education. Regina College urgently needed $25,000 to appease the bank, and a like amount would have to be raised annually. Meanwhile, the United Church was experiencing financial difficulties, with contributions down 8 percent from the previous year. "There will be a good deal of sentimental objections [to the loss of the college to the university], but in these days of financial difficulty some thing more than sentiment is required to keep a college afloat."[88]

However, Murray did not leave the outcome entirely to chance. He used his connections with the executive council, especially his close relationship with E.H. Oliver, principal of St. Andrew's College, to influence the executive's decision. Oliver was instructed: "I know you will see that there is no misunderstanding when the matter is being considered by the executive."[89]

The United Church was not likely, given the hard facts, to save the college. When the Regina board of governors heard about the last-ditch efforts, they formed a committee, consisting of Judge J.W. Hannon, D.M. Balfour, A.G. Orchard, and D.J. Thom, to draft a statement. They rejected the board of education's recommendation of $10,000 per year as totally inadequate and urged the acceptance of the university's offer without delay.[90] The executive council of the United Church were of the same mind, and on 1 July 1934 Regina College became the property of the University of Saskatchewan.

The Regina *Leader-Post* marked the occasion with a tribute to the accomplishments of the college and its president:

> *Regina College, from its inception has sedulously nurtured the sense of beauty in those who trod its halls. It has been more than a forcing ground for learning mathematics, the sciences and languages. It has taught boys and girls almost without their perception that life on these prairies—often so devoid of beauty—can be a thing of beauty. . . . Every member of the board of governors knows well that Regina College has been Dr. Stapleford and Dr. Stapleford, Regina College. . .Dr. Stapleford has been the centre and animating influence of the institution, untiring in his devotion, almost sleeping and eating Regina College, successful in advocacy of its large claims, resourceful in emergency and ever carrying about in his mind and heart new schemes of greater educational development for the prairie institution.*[91]

The breaking of the bond between church and college caused deep regret. The Reverend Herbert S. Cobb, pastor of St. James United Church, Wolseley, protested: "It is a serious thing for our church to give over education of our pupils to secondary schools. What guarantee have we the next principal will be in sympathy with our church?"[92] Former college president Robert Milliken wrote: ". . .to those of us to whom it [the college] was the centre of a vision and a hope, something akin to tears, idle tears, as Tennyson says, 'rise in the heart and gather to the eyes.'"[93] President Stapleford, of course, felt the loss as acutely as anyone. Now, as principal, he would have the opportunity to see how the college fared under the new regime, but he had reason to expect the worst.

The happiest face belonged to President Murray. Despite the large expense to the university—the total debt of the college as of 1 July 1934 was close to $100,000, higher than anticipated—and the prospect of future deficits, he was sure he had done the right thing:

> *Great as was the operating loss of 1934-35, it is more than offset by the advantages resulting from the attainment of the University's great objective—to be the one recipient of state aid for University purposes and the sole degree conferring power in the province.*[94]

Murray emerged as the winner, at least in the short run, in the struggle over the future of Regina College. In the long run, Stapleford's dream of a university in Regina was realised. The deeper question concerned what was best for higher education. Murray's policy of centralization served the interests of the University of Saskatchewan, which he equated with the interests of the people of Saskatchewan. Stapleford's policy would have spread educational opportunities more widely. The tradeoff was between all the money going to Saskatoon to build a superior institution and some money going to Regina so that hundreds more young people could receive the benefits of a liberal arts degree. In retrospect Murray's "victory" loses some of its lustre.

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EIGHT

EPILOGUE

> *"The University will continue and maintain Regina College as a Junior College conserving the best of the past and seeking to realize the ideals of culture and character which inspired the founders."*

Depending on one's point of view, the takeover of Regina College by the University of Saskatchewan in 1934 was either a mixed blessing or a mitigated disaster. On the positive side, the college, which had been near extinction, now enjoyed a new lease on life. The merger with the university guaranteed a measure of financial security hitherto unknown. On the negative side, the university was now able to confine the growth and development of the college within the limits prescribed by the narrow interests of the Saskatoon campus. Only the naive placed much stock in the vaguely worded commitment to leave open the question of a degree program should future conditions warrant it. The years immediately following the transfer tested the good will of the university towards its new acquisition. There were some hopeful signs, notably the appointment of highly qualified faculty and the establishment of the school of art. On the other hand, opportunities were missed and expansion blocked. For Regina College diehards, especially President Stapleford, the Saskatoon policy seemed miserly and ungracious.

One of the first items of business concerned the new faculty. The university had promised to hire the members of the staff who had given "long and excellent service," that is, F.E. Wagg (economics), Ernest R. Thackeray and W. A. Riddell (mathematics and science), Flora Mooney (French), David Smith (history) and Robert Coleman (physical education). Relations between Stapleford and Murray were soured by the university's attempt to renege on commitments to certain of these individuals. Specifically, Stapleford remonstrated with Murray over his treatment of Mr. Wagg:

> *In our conversation before your proposition was accepted you stated that you would appoint Mr. Wagg either to remain here or take him to Saskatoon. There was no suggestion whatever of asking him to take a year off on half pay. . .Mr. Wagg tells me it would be simply impossible for him to go away to study with half pay. He is a married man with four children, most of whom are at the expensive stage of life.*[1]

In the end, Stapleford managed to protect Wagg's rights.

Murray appointed new faculty to round out existing staff: William Ramsay (classics, and also academic dean), J.G. Rempel (biology), Murdock Matheson (English), and Hilda Neatby (history and French). Neatby, with a freshly minted Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota, was the first woman on staff entitled to be addressed as "doctor." As she related in a letter to her sister, this fact caused some awkwardness:

> *the history department at Minnesota regarded academic titles with proper scorn and we never used any. Regina College has hardly achieved that height and the students call me 'Dr.' when they remember, but fortunately they usually forget. I was much amused at Mrs. Westmoreland who teaches elocution here—I told her I preferred to be called 'Miss' and she said, "Well now, I was going to ask you about that. It does seem wrong to call a woman 'Doctor'."*[2]

Conditions for young academics in the depression may be gauged from the terms of Neatby's contract: fourteen hours of teaching per week plus handling the work of two correspondence courses for a salary of $100 a month for nine months, with room and board.[3]

Course offerings were expanded, not only through the hiring of new staff, but also through a cooperative arrangement with Luther College. Regina College faculty taught economics, history and biology at Luther, while Luther College instructors taught philosophy, mathematics and German at Regina College. In addition, faculty commuted to Moose Jaw Collegiate to give classes in economics, history and biology.

The dean and professor of classics from 1934 to 1940 was Dr. William Ramsay. He had taught Greek and Latin at Central Collegiate in Regina from 1910 to 1916, when he was appointed to the classics department at the University of Saskatchewan. Ramsay had a reputation for being an outstanding and inspiring teacher who liked to tell his classes, "The most modern writer in the world is Plato, except for the New Testament."[4] Students spoke with enthusiasm about his powerful influence:

> *he was fond of informing us often that Apollo was the god of 'light, healing and forgiveness.' After we had, presumably, assimilated this fact, it went something like this: Dr. Ramsay shut his eyes tightly and described rapid circles in the air with his forefinger, all the while saying 'Apollo is the god of light, healing and _____.' At this point the eyes flew open, the finger stopped and the person at whom it pointed was expected to finish the statement—'forgiveness.'*[5]

Ramsay was something of a "Mr. Chips." He had a weakness for western pulp fiction and an abiding passion for bridge and golf. Practising his swing in the living room of his suite all winter long, he wore holes in the centre of the rug.[6] As an administrator, he cared more for people than for paper shuffling. "Many a discussion occurred over morning coffee or afternoon tea seeking to find out why a certain student was doing poorly. The members of staff were treated like family and fatherly advice was dispensed in a gentle, concerned manner."[7]

Ramsay's deanship made Stapleford's position as principal redundant. Hilda Neatby had the distinct impression in 1934 that Murray was trying to "ditch" the former president as tactfully as possible.[8] The two men clashed over Stapleford's salary. The latter thought he had a guarantee that his remuneration of $4,800 plus $1,200 for living expenses would not be diminished as a result of the takeover of the college. Judge P.E. Mackenzie, chairman of the university board of governors, concurred that these were the agreed-upon terms. Murray, however, refused to pay what he called an exorbitant and scandalous salary, forcing Stapleford to accept only $1,600 plus a living allowance of $1,000 per year. The university also consented to purchase an annuity of $2,000 for Stapleford.[9] In December 1934 the principal departed for Stanford University in California for a year's study to prepare himself to teach sociology. For a while, at least, he was spared the frustrations of dealing with Murray.

The university maintained some of the traditions of the church college. For example, students continued to have a break in the middle of the morning for chapel service. In other respects, the college was quite a different place. The university dropped grades nine, ten, and eleven, and offered only first and second year arts. Since students in Regina could take grade twelve at one of the collegiates without paying tuition, the large majority of students were enrolled in second year arts (99 out of 121 in 1936-37, and 78 out of 84 in 1939-40.)[10] The residences, which had only twenty-two occupants in 1937 and sixteen in 1938, seemed empty compared with earlier times when the buildings had been filled to capacity.[11] The students were mostly Reginans who either did not want or could not afford to leave home to attend university. Stapleford considered the situation pitiful: "The buildings at Saskatoon are overcrowded and the magnificent plant here is half empty."[12]

The students kept up the usual round of activities, that is, dances, sports, a dramatic and debating club, a writers' club, a student newspaper, and a students' representative council. Judging from the 1936 "Student Handbook," the SCM carried on a full program. Guest speakers such as Miss Mary Dingman of Geneva, Miss Florence Kirk of Gingling College, Nanking, China (formerly on the faculty of Regina College), and Clifford

Grant of India made appearances. Study groups met under the leadership of faculty members. Dr. Stapleford's group discussed "Christianity and Communism," Miss Mooney conducted discussions on "Campus Problems" and "Jesus and the Records," while Mr. Wagg talked about "Social Credit." The Sunday evening fireside continued as in former days as did the special chapel services organised by the SCM, including the observance of the students' world-wide day of prayer. The SCM sent two representatives to an international conference held in Indianapolis over the Christmas break and an official delegate to the spring camp at Lake Manitou.[13]

Involvement in extracurricular activities varied from year to year. Dean Ramsay noted in 1939 that the heavy academic demands made of second year university students left little time for other pursuits, and, consequently, student activities had been kept to a minimum.[14] Ramsay's statement contradicted the earlier college tradition of a well-rounded education encompassing physical, social, and spiritual, as well as intellectual development. The Regina College ideal had always been the building of character in the spirit of "one who serves."

The academic program changed little during Ramsay's tenure as dean. Although he told a newspaper reporter in 1938, "The university is just as eager to see the college grow as any citizen of Regina can be,"[15] he privately bewailed the unwillingness of the university to allow expansion. He pleaded with the authorities in Saskatoon to let students at Regina College receive credit for more than five classes in second year arts. The reply was the same one Stapleford had always received:

> *While it is true that it might be possible to offer one or two additional courses in branches of study beyond the Junior College year, we are distinctly of opinion that a wide variety of studies should be offered to any student pursuing a course in Liberal Arts.*[16]

Ramsay was provoked to accuse the university president of unfriendliness to Regina College and a lack of confidence in its staff. [17] The passage of time had brought about a curious turn of events. Ramsay came to Regina in 1934 to act on behalf of Murray and, so to speak, keep the college in its place. Actual experience as dean had turned the classics professor into a local partisan.

He was not alone. F.W. Turnbull, a Regina lawyer, angrily protested in 1937:

> *Some of us think that when the University got the complete college facilities and equipment without payment of any money*

that they ought to attempt to extend the facilities of the college course to more of the people from southern Saskatchewan. We would appreciate it if the university could see fit to establish a complete arts course. It would save me personally a few thousand dollars in getting my family educated. As a taxpayer I have to pay my share of the university costs and as a parent I have to pay for a complete education for my children away from home with the college building almost empty at my door.[18]

Sentiments such as these were later vigorously put forward and channelled by G.H. Barr, who led a protracted and ultimately successful fight to establish a university in Regina.

If the academic department experienced some frustration because of the ban on expansion, the Conservatory of Music laboured under handicaps caused by both the depression and university neglect. Shortly before the takeover in 1934, Stapleford expressed concern to Murray: "The work of the Conservatory has been slipping the last year quite seriously and I would like to try to bring it back to its former status."[19] Cyril Hampshire resigned as director in 1935 to become supervisor of music for the public schools in Regina. The university promised to secure "a good young man with energy and undoubted musical talent" to succeed him as director, but somehow Murray never got around to making the appointment. A three-person committee, chaired by Dan Cameron, constituted a "temporary" administrative body in lieu of a director. Stapleford begged Murray not to leave the conservatory leaderless:

I would be glad if, before your next trip to Regina, you could think over the problem of a Director for the Conservatory and possibly also the question of the Art Department here. Mr. Cameron and his associates on the Committee of Direction have entered into their work with enthusiasm but I fully realize that such arrangement is very temporary and that we should plan to put a new man in charge for the opening next September.[20]

The university failed to make an appointment until 1939 and, even then, new blood was not brought into the conservatory. Dan Cameron, the chairman of the committee of direction, was simply named permanent director. Stapleford confided to his diary his opinion that Murray was trying "to dismantle the Conservatory." The university president insisted that all Bachelor of Music students had to come to Saskatoon for the final year of their program, a requirement that flatly contradicted the terms of the 1932 affiliation agreement between the conservatory and the university.[21]

The dismal economic conditions took their toll on conservatory instructors, who numbered 13 in 1935-36 (6 piano, 1 organ and piano,

2 vocal, 2 string, and 2 expression).[22] They set their own scale of fees, 15 percent of which they returned to the conservatory. They also had to pay studio rental of $10 per month. These arrangements put some of the teachers in an extreme financial bind and caused bitter complaints. Marguerite Buck, an instructor in piano, set forth her grievances in 1938:

> *It is time that some one 'spoke out' about practical and artistic conditions in the Regina College Conservatory of Music. . . .The Conservatory teachers each pay $10 a month studio rent, deducted from the amount students have paid that month, after the 15 percent discount has been deducted. Last month my cheque was $21.85 as a number of my students were in arrears. I had earned about three times that amount. The $10 is a thorn in the flesh to me, personally, as there is $100 a year gone—for what? The College location is a poor one, not central or easy of access. Downtown one can rent a central studio for the same amount.*
>
> *Moreover, the College guarantees no students. This year, I have had one piano and one theory student through the college. Also they do practically no advertising—so that I wonder just what my $100 a year and the 15 percent of my small earnings are used for.*
>
> *The mention of studio rent brings me to a consideration of the studios. They should be made soundproof, or else each studio should be separated by one vacant room from those adjoining. The noise at times is intolerable. Certainly no artistic work can be expected under such nerve-wracking conditions. . . .Also, surely each piano teacher should have a grand piano in the studio. . . .Any piano will not do, particularly the tin pans most of us have to call pianos, in our studios.*
>
> *Since graduating from the University in 1925, I have taught piano, with excellent results, and I am quite fair in saying that my last two years spent teaching at the College have been sheer misery, artistically as well as financially. I cannot go on another year under such conditions as I have outlined above.*[23]

The university responded to the protest in 1938 by improving the soundproofing of the studios and by reducing studio rentals from $10 to $5 per month for teachers earning a net income of less than $500 per year. The following year, studio rentals were entirely abolished, although the 15 percent deduction from fees still had to be paid.[24]

Dan Cameron, chairman of the committee of direction, maintained a steady optimism in the midst of adversity. He tried to revive the "esprit

de corps'' by having two monthly recitals, one for the juniors and one for the seniors. A full program of class and club activities complemented individual instruction in fulfillment of the following goals:

1. *The rounding out and deepening of the students' special understanding.*
2. *The development of artistry as against mere virtuosity in performance.*
3. *Experience in working with others in various forms of musical and dramatic ensembles.*
4. *The provision of an agreeable and stimulating social factor in the life of the conservatory student.*[25]

Despite the depression, enrolment grew modestly from 316 in 1936 to 383 in 1938 to 404 in 1939.[26] Cameron's pride and pleasure in the conservatory's accomplishments shone through his annual report for 1938-39:

> *it is within bounds to say that the Conservatory is more and more setting the musical tone of Regina. The artistic standard attained in its own work and carried further afield through the many outside activities not only of the staff but of many students who have their own 'spheres of influence' is definitely in the best tradition. It is moreover reflected in the most practical way in the enrolment record.*[27]

Cameron's ebullience contrasted with Stapleford's gloomy suspicion that Murray, who retired in 1937, wanted to ''dismantle'' the conservatory. The conservatory appeared to decline in the early and mid-thirties and then recover somewhat in the latter part of the decade. However, even the peak enrolment of 1939 (404) fell well short of the 662 enrolled in 1929.[28]

At the time of the transfer of the college from the United Church, the university had given a commitment not only ''to maintain the high standard of excellence of the Conservatory of Music,'' but also to open a school of art. Murray tried unsuccessfully to obtain funds from the Carnegie Corporation for the latter purpose, but in 1936 an excellent opportunity arose. Norman Mackenzie, a former member of the Regina College board of governors, died and left to the university a collection of paintings and capital for the construction of an art gallery.

The story behind the bequest was an interesting one. Norman Mackenzie, a graduate of Osgoode Hall, formed in 1893 what proved to be a very successful and lucrative law partnership with George W. Brown. Sought out by many major banks, financial corporations, and business

concerns, the firm gathered an impressive clientele, "one of the most important between Winnipeg and the Pacific coast."[29] The original nucleus of two partners, a stenographer, and a law student grew to a staff of at least twenty. Norman Mackenzie's profession was law, but his passion was art. His collection of paintings gave him immense satisfaction and personal fulfillment, as is evident from a letter to a friend in 1925:

> *It is damp and dreary and gives one a feeling of depression. When your letter came this morning I wished that I was sitting with you in your villa in Italy or helping you to unpack your pictures. Yesterday was Sunday. Mrs. Mackenzie is still in the East and I spent the whole day in the house moving from one picture to another. I do not see how people get along who do not appreciate art.*[30]

An indefatigable collector, Mackenzie purchased Oriental antiquities and Neolithic and Paleolithic artifacts from dealers around the world. He decided, however, to focus his collection mainly on drawings and paintings by masters of the Italian Renaissance. By 1913 Mackenzie had already formed the intention of eventually bequeathing the collection to the public domain:

> *I am buying these pictures with the intention of leaving them to an institution here, and I do not intend to leave pictures supposed to be by Old Masters as Old Masters, where I have no proof to corroborate my statement, and for this reason I only care to hear from you in the future about pictures that can reasonably be expected to be proved genuine.*[31]

That same year Mackenzie first encountered J. Purves Carter, an English collector and restorer of paintings, who lived in a villa near Florence, Italy. Mackenzie met him through Archbishop Mathieu of Regina, the former rector of Laval University, who had employed Carter to restore the collection at Laval. The Englishman came to Canada again in 1913 with some works of old masters intended for the art gallery in Vancouver. Unfortunately, the principal philanthropist behind the gallery went bankrupt and committed suicide, leaving Carter with a number of unwanted paintings. Through the good offices of Archbishop Mathieu, Carter landed in Regina where he sold to Mackenzie paintings attributed to Del Sarto, Francia, and Titian.[32] Mackenzie, who felt isolated in Regina, where so few people shared his interest in art (he remarked that when the 1912 cyclone destroyed hundreds of pictures, no one seemed to care) appreciated very much the association with Carter. The latter wrote Mackenzie long letters, often covering more than twenty-five pages, relating the news of the art world, dropping names and tidbits of gossip about artists,

dealers, and collectors.[33] Carter intimated to Mackenzie that a buyer need not pay the high prices for Renaissance art demanded by the recognised dealers. By eliminating these middlemen, Carter promised to assemble an exquisite collection for not much money.[34] Mackenzie, who liked and trusted Carter, began making regular purchases. The two men shared scurrilous opinions about the Jewish art dealers of New York. When the paintings Carter had for sale were being attacked as copies and forgeries, Mackenzie assured Carter, "I bank on you as against the Jews."[35] Mackenzie repeated similar prejudices on other occasions: "So far as I am concerned I cannot see why a man cannot buy a picture if he wants without it being slandered by the New York Jews, but everything that passes out of the city of New York has to pass through a gutter of criticism."[36]

A professional evaluation later revealed the old masters in the Mackenzie collection to be wrongly attributed, and most of them are now listed as the work of unknown artists. Even Mackenzie suspected the truth. Eric Brown, the director of the National Gallery of Canada, who visited Carter's Florentine villa in 1928, reported bleakly to the Regina collector: "So far as my opinion goes, I should say that only a very small percentage [of Carter's paintings] were attributable to any important artists and of this number scarcely any were interesting examples."[37] Fortunately, not all of the purchases were made through Carter. The most valuable part of Mackenzie's collection were European drawings purchased mostly through London dealers.[38] Mackenzie also acquired paintings by reputable western Canadian artists like James Henderson and Inglis Sheldon-Williams, as well as a few works by eastern Canadians, for example, Homer Watson and Arthur Lismer.[39] Mackenzie missed a great opportunity. Had he not been consumed with buying Italian Renaissance art, he might easily have acquired contemporary European and North American works that today would be worth a fortune.

Mackenzie's will left his art works to the University of Saskatchewan, except for two major pictures which went to the National Gallery and a number of lesser, but nonetheless important, works, which Mrs. Mackenzie kept.[40] Property worth about $40,000 in 1936 was earmarked for an art gallery. Mackenzie's generosity prompted Murray to appoint a director of fine arts at Regina College. Gus Kenderdine was one of the two most significant painters in Saskatchewan before 1950, the other being James Henderson. Born in England in 1870, Kenderdine settled in 1907 on a farm near Lashburn. His first exhibition in Saskatoon in 1920 was sufficiently impressive for the university to provide him with a studio and a lectureship. In 1936, he moved to Regina to take charge of the new art school.[41] His sole colleague on the art faculty was Gordon Snelgrove, a Moose Jaw school teacher who had resigned his position to study art history

at the University of Chicago and the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London. Now he returned in 1936, complete with Ph.D., to Regina College to lecture in art history for less money than he received as a school teacher in Moose Jaw in the 1920s.[42]

In accordance with the instructions given in Mackenzie's will, the school of fine arts was to have a gallery. The university collected information about the newly-built gallery in Vancouver, sketches were commissioned from architect F.H. Portnall, and tenders were called. The lowest bid came in at $70,000, well over the $40,000 provided by the estate. Even if, by some miracle, sufficient capital were found to construct the building, Murray claimed the university could not afford the operating expenses.[43] But Stapleford would not give up:

> *On Friday evening last I happened to be at a dinner at which Mrs. (Judge) Martin told the company that Mrs. Norman Mackenzie has just received $1,250,000 in cash as her share of her father's estate. It occurred to me that this information might be of some value to you. Surely Mrs. Mackenzie could be persuaded to give up her annuity if it would be used towards maintaining the Art Building.*[44]

Although this suggestion failed to spur Murray into action, Stapleford had another idea. Why not make a special appeal to the members of the legislature? Murray explained why not:

> *I do not think it wise or proper to ask for special votes for certain work of the University. . . . The minute you begin to ask for funds for separate things the University becomes subject to all sorts of appeals which are not in the general interests of the University. I, therefore, strongly object to anything like a special vote being asked for Regina College or a special appeal being made to the members of the Legislature. There are many things much more popular than Regina College or courses in Art.*[45]

Murray's argument was valid, but one suspects that if Stapleford had been in command, Regina College would not have had to wait until 1953 to see the opening of the Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery.

For Stapleford the failure to build the gallery was one more in a long series of disappointments since the university assumed control of the college. By 1937, he had had enough. Before tendering his resignation as principal, he appealed to Murray one last time: "I am quite willing to remain here and could be very happy in my work and could I think render a real service to the college if I were principal in fact as well as in name."[46] Dr. Ramsay missed teaching Greek and would welcome the chance to return to

Saskatoon. The duties of dean could be combined with those of principal, saving the university a considerable amount of money. Beside this suggestion Murray penned in the margin, "This solution impossible." It was impossible because Murray wanted to control Regina College himself. Stapleford, as principal in fact as well as in name, was unthinkable. He would promote Regina College with dangerous zeal, and, no doubt, revive the issue of the four-year degree. No, the only solution was to freeze Stapleford out.

With regret, Stapleford decided to leave. At a farewell dinner hosted by the Regina Board of Trade, Judge J.T. Brown, his voice breaking with emotion, summed up the prevailing sentiment in Regina—the college had lost its pilot:

> *Dr. Stapleford now leaves this province looking for a job. He is still ambitious. He is still zealous and full of energy, but he goes forth looking for a job. He will not be out of a job for long, but we will have lost a great citizen.*[47]

Stapleford, in reply, spoke of the hundreds of young men and women in Regina who were unable to afford university in Saskatoon. His parting shot was a prediction, that Regina College would eventually become a university for southern Saskatchewan.

The university's retirement gift was a portrait of Stapleford by Gus Kenderdine, which Stapleford in turn donated to the college. President Murray could not find the time to present the gift; nor could he find any other suitable person from the university to make the presentation.[48] Murray, however, did write a kind letter thanking Stapleford for keeping the truce after 1934: "You have not permitted differences over matters of policy to impair our personal relations which have been cordial and friendly."[49] After Stapleford departed, Murray assumed the title of principal of Regina College, proving conclusively how meaningless the post had been. A few months later, on 31 August 1937, the seventy-one-year-old Murray himself retired. He had stayed on the scene just long enough to outlast Stapleford.

Both Dr. and Mrs. Stapleford felt keenly what they called their "exile" from Saskatchewan. On board ship in Lake Superior, Stapleford handed his wife a pair of socks that needed mending. She looked at them with distaste; they had already been mended many times. Opening a porthole, she threw them into the lake.[50] This small act of rebellion seemed to sum up her disappointment at having to leave Regina. As Judge Brown had predicted, Stapleford was not long in finding another job. For six months he administered an emergency federal government relief program for destitute farmers in Saskatchewan. Then, in 1938, he accepted a position

as vice-principal of Victoria College in Toronto, in charge of raising an endowment fund. Mrs. Stapleford also found many outlets for her talents and energy. She devoted a great deal of time and thought to persuading the president of the University of Toronto to grant an honourary degree to Nellie Greenwood Andrews, widow of the first president of Regina College. The university eventually conferred a "Doctor of Sacred Letters" on Mrs. Andrews in recognition of her contribution to social reform and the enhancement of the status of women.

During World War II, Dr. Stapleford served in Ottawa as national director of voluntary services, responsible for the coordination of all voluntary organisations across Canada helping with the war effort. After two years in that capacity, he returned to Toronto and occupied himself by accepting invitations to preach in various churches. He worked as assistant pastor of Metropolitan Church in Toronto until well into his eighties. Despite his advanced age, he went for daily walks, read extensively, and kept in close touch with the committee of Regina citizens who were actively campaigning in the 1950s for university status for Regina College. He died in his eighty-fifth year on 3 February 1959.[51]

The years 1934 to 1939 brought to a close one era in the history of Regina College, while opening another. The church college with its distinctive ethos centred on character development became a satellite of the university. The university unquestionably conferred substantial benefits, most notably, saving the college from insolvency. High academic standards were maintained for second year arts, but no consideration was given to going beyond that. The university kept the conservatory going, but without giving much more than minimal support, and made modest progress in the development of a school of fine arts. The university's record in managing the college was adequate but, for Stapleford, that was not nearly good enough. He regretted the half-empty Regina College buildings which could have been filled with hundreds of students eager for a college education.

In the years after 1939, much changed at Regina College. During World War II, the buildings were taken over by the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, forcing classes to be conducted in rented quarters in downtown Regina. After the war, the college, flooded with returning veterans, reverted to its normal premises. The pressures to expand course offerings grew inexorably, until, in 1959, the same year as Stapleford's death, the university decided to implement gradually a program in Regina leading to a degree in arts and science. Regina college became a separate university in 1974, just as Dr. Stapleford had predicted, when, rejected and disappointed, he left the college in 1937. He had been the key figure in the first phase of the history of the institution, rescuing it from near-

bankruptcy and establishing its place in the community. As Regina College moved forward after the 1930s, it could build on a solid tradition of providing Saskatchewan people with opportunities for educational advancement, and, even more important, a sense of the good life.

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17 Ibid., Ramsay to Thomson, 19 December 1938.
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32 NMAG, Mackenzie Papers, Memorandum re Titian, Del Sarto, and Francia, by Norman Mackenzie, 15 November 1918; Mackenzie to Archbishop Charles McGuigan, 1 September 1931.
33 Jerilee Pitzel, "A Short Biography of Norman Mackenzie," 11.
34 Ibid., 13. A recent book, *Artful Partners: Bernard Berenson and Joseph Duveen* by Colin Simpson, notes that in 1911 a painting authenticated as a Verrocchio was bought by the Duveens for $6,250 and sold to Benjamin Altman for $125,000. Joseph Duveen's name cropped up frequently in Norman Mackenzie's correspondence as an example of a dealer charging excessive mark-ups.
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